

Guidelines on social analysis

for rural area
development planning



TRAINING
MATERIALS
FOR
AGRICULTURAL
PLANNING

34



Food
and
Agriculture
Organization
of
the
United
Nations

Guidelines on social analysis

**for rural area
development planning**

by
Diane Conyers

Prepared for the
Training Service
Policy Analysis Division
FAO Economic and Social Policy Department

**TRAINING
MATERIALS
FOR
AGRICULTURAL
PLANNING**

34

Reprinted 1999

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

M-64
ISBN 92-5-103439-7

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner. Applications for such permission, with a statement of the purpose and extent of the reproduction, should be addressed to the Director, Information Division, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

© FAO 1993

Foreword

The macroeconomic and sectoral policies put in place by a large number of countries during the last decade have frequently been complemented by programmes and projects to protect the poor and vulnerable groups during the adjustment process. Concerns with efficiency and equity of expenditures on basic social services, with appropriate identification of the poor and with effective targeting and monitoring of interventions indicate how critical is the link between the central government policy with its broader economic environment and the subnational level where most effective planning and implementation can be undertaken.

Decentralization can favour the establishment of the necessary mutually supportive relationships between the central government and the subnational level, the latter encompassing public sector institutions as well as non-governmental organisations and other individuals or groups in the area. The development of a local capacity for identifying, preparing and monitoring socio-economic interventions is the necessary corollary to successful policy implementation.

This publication has been prepared as part of an ongoing training programme of the Policy Analysis Division, aimed at strengthening the local planning capacity in rural areas. It intends to provide guidelines on the social aspects of agricultural and general rural development planning and to demonstrate to those involved in such planning the importance of social issues, the relationship between social and economic development planning and the nature and scope of social analysis methods. These methods, reviewed and illustrated through the use of a hypothetical district case study, refer to information gathering, to formulation of nutrition, education and water supply policies, to meeting special needs of disadvantaged groups of the population as well as to fostering public involvement in planning.

The Guidelines are intended primarily for use by those responsible for designing training programmes for staff engaged in planning at district level. However, the material is also relevant for public servants, local government officials and staff of non-government organizations.

Comments and suggestions on their use will be most welcome.



T. Kelley White
Director
Policy Analysis Division



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PART I. INTRODUCTION

<u>Chapter 1.</u>	<u>Introduction</u>	3
1.1	<u>Background</u>	5
1.2	<u>The role of these Guidelines</u>	6
1.3	<u>What is social analysis ?</u>	7
1.4	<u>The need for an integrated approach to planning</u>	9
 <u>Chapter 2.</u>	 <u>Using the Guidelines</u>	 11
2.1	<u>Organization of the Guidelines</u>	13
2.2	<u>The case study approach</u>	13
2.3	<u>Application of the Guidelines</u>	14
2.4	<u>Some hints for trainers</u>	15
	<u>Annex</u>	19

PART II. THE NATURE AND ROLE OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS IN PLANNING

<u>Chapter 3.</u>	<u>Social Development in Rural Areas</u>	33
3.1	<u>The social characteristics of rural areas</u>	35
3.2	<u>The concept of social development</u>	41
3.3	<u>The relationship between social and economic development</u>	50
3.4	<u>The politics of social development</u>	57
 <u>Chapter 4.</u>	 <u>The Social Dimensions of Rural Area Planning</u>	 67
4.1	<u>The concept of social planning</u>	69
4.2	<u>The role of social planning at area level</u>	72
4.3	<u>Methods of social analysis for area planning</u>	75
4.4	<u>Problems of social planning at area level</u>	76

PART III. METHODS OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Chapter 5.	Collecting and Using Social Data	85
5.1	The need for data	87
5.2	Identifying data needs	87
5.3	The collection and use of secondary data	96
5.4	the collection and use of primary data	103
Chapter 6.	Formulating Social Policy	117
6.1	Introduction	119
6.2	Nutrition policy	120
6.3	Education policy	125
6.4	Rural water supply policy	132
Chapter 7.	Assessing Social Costs and Benefits	143
7.1	Why assess social costs and benefits ?	145
7.2	Types of social costs and benefits	146
7.3	Measuring social costs and benefits	155
7.4	Comparing social and economic costs and benefits	163
7.5	The politics of project appraisal	168
Chapter 8.	Planning for the Disadvantaged	173
8.1	General issues	175
8.2	Planning for the poor	180
8.3	Planning for the land hungry	186
8.4	Planning for women	191
8.5	Planning for ethnic minorities	196
Chapter 9.	Participatory Planning	205
9.1	The rationale for participatory planning	207
9.2	The nature and scope of participatory planning	208
9.3	Strengthening participatory planning	214

List of Maps, Table and Boxes

	Page
Map 1 - Location of Gondwanaland District	19
Map 2 - Gondwanaland: Physical Features	21
Map 3 - Gondwanaland: Population Density	23
Map 4 - Gondwanaland: Agro-Economic Zones	25
Map 5 - Gondwanaland: Infrastructure and Settlement	27
 Table 3.1 Index of Human Suffering: Selected Countries	 44
Box 3.1 A profile of two villages	37
Box 3.2 Gondwanaland District: Some Social Indicators	45
Box 3.3 The Model Vegetable Garden Project	49
Box 3.4 The Political Economy of the Hurda	58
Box 4.1 The Introduction of Social Planning in Gondwanaland	74
Box 5.1 Gondwanaland District: Some Social Indicators	89
Box 5.2 Gondwanaland District: Population Density by Ward	98
Box 5.3 Gondwanaland District: Population by Age and Sex 1990	100
Box 5.4 The 1988 Gondwanaland Census	105
Box 5.5 Collecting Information for the Cotton Development Project	107
Box 5.6 Using Rapid Rural Appraisal to Get Farming Systems Data	111
Box 6.1 Nutrition Policy in Gondwanaland	123
Box 6.2 Gondwanaland: Access to Secondary Schools	128
Box 6.3 Education Policy in Gondwanaland	130
Box 6.4 Rural Water Supply Policy in Gondwanaland	136
Box 7.1 The Social Implications of the Proposed Senda Coal Mine	148
Box 7.2 Alternative Methods of Flood Control in the Mvura Valley	151
Box 7.3 Social Criteria for the Appraisal of RDF Applications	153
Box 7.4 Collecting Data for the Senda Social Impact Study	156
Box 7.5 Collecting Data on Alternative Methods of Flood Control	159
Box 7.6 Guidelines for the Collection of Data on the Social Implications of Proposed RDF Projects	161
Box 7.7 Prioritizing RDF Project Applications	167
Box 8.1 Gondwanaland's Anti-Poverty Strategy	181
Box 8.2 Gondwanaland's Attempt to Tackle the Problem of Land Shortage	187
Box 8.3 The Gondwanaland Women's Action Group	192
Box 8.4 The Proposed Hurda Integrated Rural Development Project	197
Box 9.1 Participatory Research: The Case of Women Heads of Households	216
Box 9.2 Strengthening Gondwanaland District Council's Role in District Planning	221
Box 9.3 Gondwanaland's Training Programme for Agricultural Extension Workers	224
Box 9.4 The Gondwanaland Community Forestry Project	228

PART I.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 Background
- 1.2 The role of these Guidelines
- 1.3 What is social analysis
- 1.4 The need for an integrated approach to planning
- 1.5 Summary

This introductory chapter explains how this publication relates to FAO's other work in the field of area development planning and outlines its objectives and scope.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This publication has been prepared as part of an ongoing training programme by the Training Service of the Policy Analysis Division of FAO, the aim of which is to strengthen the local planning capacity in rural areas. This programme evolved out of FAO's work in agricultural planning. It was recognized that there is a need to decentralize agricultural planning to relatively small sub-national areas and to integrate agriculture with other aspects of rural development planning at this level. The specific need for training arose from a study of the experience with this sort of decentralized planning in a number of countries in the latter part of the 1980s, the findings of which are summarised in two earlier FAO publications: **Training for Decentralized Planning: Lessons from Experience**, by M. Maetz and M.G. Quieti (1987) and **Training for Decentralized Planning: Proceedings of the Expert Consultation** by M.G. Quieti (1989).

One of the the main findings was that conventional regional planning methods, most of which have been developed for use in relatively large regions in resource-rich 'developed' countries, are of limited value in the much smaller rural regions (more appropriately known as districts) which form the basis of decentralized planning in most less developed countries, because they require unobtainable amounts of financial resources, skilled manpower and data. Consequently, the need to develop and disseminate planning approaches and techniques appropriate for use at this level was identified.

One of the outputs of the training programme was a publication entitled **Rural Area Development Planning: A Review and Synthesis of Approaches** (1990), which looks at the overall approach to rural area development planning. The report identifies a number of possible approaches, based on the experience in specific countries. This was followed in 1991 by a two-volume publication, entitled **Rural Area Development Planning: Principles, Approaches and Tools of Economic Analysis**. As the title suggests, this provides guidelines on specific planning techniques, which can be used within the broad planning approaches identified in the earlier publication, and focuses in particular on techniques of economic analysis. The present publication complements this, since it provides guidelines on techniques of social analysis.

1.2 The Role of these Guidelines

The aim of this publication is to provide guidelines on the social aspects of agricultural and general rural development planning at the 'district' level. Its aim is to demonstrate to those involved in such planning the importance of social issues, the relationship between social and other aspects of planning, and the nature and scope of social analysis methods. The meaning of 'social' in this context is discussed in section 1.3 below.

The term 'district'

The term 'district' is used here to refer to the relatively small administrative units which are the focus for the detailed planning and implementation of most agricultural and rural development projects. The actual size (in terms of both area and population) of a 'district' varies from one country to another, depending on particular circumstances, such as the size of the country, the density of population and the availability of administrative staff. However, it is characterised by the fact that it is usually the lowest level in the administrative hierarchy at which most government agencies involved in rural development are fully represented, and the level at which some sort of local government body is most likely to exist. It is thus a focal point for, on the one hand, 'horizontal' coordination between the various sectoral agencies involved in rural development and, on the other hand, 'vertical' coordination between national plans and policies from 'above' and community needs and aspirations from 'below'. Hence its importance in rural development planning.

The word 'district' is used because it is the most generally recognized name for such areas, especially in those countries which were once British colonies. However, anyone using these Guidelines should look at the administrative structure of his or her country in the light of the characteristics of a 'district' described above and decide which administrative unit fits this description most closely. In some cases, particularly in a relatively large country with a 'multi-level' structure, he or she might find that the Guidelines can be applied to more than one level. For example, in India, they should be applicable at both the district and the block level.

Users of these Guidelines

The Guidelines are intended primarily for use by those responsible for designing training programmes for staff engaged in planning at district level. The intention is to indicate the types of methodological issues and techniques which should be included in either a special course on the social aspects of planning or as part of an integrated training programme. Some hints for trainers are provided in Chapter 2. However, the Guidelines can also be used by practitioners themselves. For example, someone responsible for

agricultural or rural planning at district level who is aware of the need to incorporate social issues but not sure how to do so should be able to use these Guidelines to point him or her in the right direction. The most obvious users will be public servants and local government officials. However, the material is equally relevant to the staff of non-government organizations (NGOs) engaged in rural development planning at district (or equivalent) level.

As already indicated in section 1.1, this publication is intended primarily as a contribution to FAO's training programme in support of decentralized planning, and in particular as a sequel to the earlier publication on **Principles, Approaches and Tools of Economic Analysis**. However, it also complements some of FAO's other training publications and activities, especially the **Guide for Training in the Formulation of Agricultural and Rural Investment Projects** and the training programme in food and agricultural policy analysis. Although the level and focus of analysis is different, the material presented in these Guidelines will supplement the brief sections on social issues in both these training programmes.

1.3 What is Social Analysis?

The word 'social' is not easy to define. Most people know roughly what the word means but when asked to define it they are likely to give a variety of different answers. It is necessary to look briefly at this problem here, in order to be clear as to what is - and is not - included in the term 'social' in these Guidelines.

Holistic and residual approach

There are two main ways of defining 'social' which are commonly used. One is what might be called the 'holistic' approach, which defines 'social' as anything relating to people or society. This is a very broad definition, which could include most aspects of rural development, in so far as rural development implies the development of rural people or rural societies. The other is most appropriately known as the 'residual' approach, since it defines 'social' as anything which is not 'economic'. The main problem with this approach is that there is no one definition of the word 'economic'. Sometimes, 'economic' is defined very narrowly to refer only to 'financial' or, at most, 'directly productive' issues or activities, in which case the residual 'social' issues or activities are relatively broad in scope. However, there is probably an increasing tendency among economists to define 'economic' in much broader terms, even to the point of including most issues or activities related to rural development, on the grounds that they are all directly or indirectly related, in which case there is little if anything left under the heading of 'social'.

It is obvious that neither of the above approaches is very useful in determining what should and should not be included in a publication or training course on social analysis. For practical purposes, it is more useful to define in more specific terms the types of issues or activities which are most likely to be regarded as 'social' in nature, while recognising that some of these might also be included under the term 'economic'.

Social issues and activities

The most obvious of these 'social' issues and activities are those related to:

- the 'social' characteristics of an area or society, including the demographic structure (eg. size and density of population, age and sex structure, household structure and composition), ethnic characteristics, social structure (eg. leadership structures; class, caste or other social divisions), religious and cultural beliefs and practices, and general attitudes;
- the general quality of life in an area or society, which comprises a number of different factors, including some (eg. income) which are 'economic' in nature but have wider implications in the sense that they influence other aspects of life (eg. income affects health, nutrition, access to various goods and services, leisure activities and the ability to choose between alternative lifestyles, all of which are important components of the quality of life);
- social services (eg. health, education, water and sanitation, welfare benefits), which contribute to the general quality of life but warrant attention in their own right because they raise particular planning issues; and
- social justice, which includes issues related to equity, human rights and participation in decision-making, all of which are again part of the overall quality of life but also warrant separate attention because they raise special planning issues.

Therefore, for the purposes of these Guidelines, the term 'social analysis' will be used to refer to the analysis of issues or activities related to any or all of the above.

1.4 The Need for an Integrated Approach to Planning

Although these Guidelines focus on particular aspects or dimensions of planning - notably the social aspects of rural development planning at district (or equivalent) level, it is important at the outset to remember that most planning issues and problems are interrelated and so, in practice, an integrated approach is essential. More specifically, it should be noted that:

- The social and economic aspects of rural development are closely related; this has already been suggested in section 1.3 and the nature of the relationship will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.
- There are important linkages between rural and urban areas, in the form of movements of people, goods, money, expertise and so on; these include linkages between rural areas and small towns within a predominantly rural district and linkages between predominantly rural areas and larger towns in other parts of the country.
- Planning at district level will only be effective if it is linked vertically to planning and policy-making at national level and to conditions, needs and aspirations at the local level.

It is therefore important to recognize that these Guidelines relate to only part of the planning process and thus must be used in some sort of broader planning context. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter 2 and in appropriate places in Parts II and III.

SUMMARY

- This publication has been produced as part of FAO's ongoing training programme in support of decentralized planning, the aim of which is to strengthen local planning capacity in rural areas by developing and disseminating information on appropriate planning approaches and methods. It complements an earlier publication entitled **Rural Area Development Planning: Principles, Approaches and Tools of Economic Analysis**.
 - Its main aim is to provide guidelines on the social aspects of planning for practitioners and, in particular, trainers involved in agricultural and rural development planning at the district (or equivalent) level.
 - The term 'social analysis' is used here to mean the analysis of issues or activities related to any or all of the following: (i) the social characteristics of an area; (ii) the general quality of life; (iii) social services; and (iv) social justice.
 - Although these Guidelines focus on the social aspects of **rural** development planning at district level, it is important that they be used as part of a broader planning approach, which recognises the linkages between social and economic issues, between rural and urban areas, and between national, district and local planning.
-

CHAPTER 2

USING THE GUIDELINES

- 2.1 Organization of the Guidelines
- 2.2 The case study approach
- 2.3 Application of the Guidelines
- 2.4 Some hints for trainers
- 2.5 Summary

This chapter explains how the rest of the publication is organized, suggests how it should be used and provides some hints for those wishing to use these Guidelines to develop their own training programmes.

CHAPTER 2

USING THE GUIDELINES

2.1 Organization of the Guidelines

The rest of this publication is divided into two parts.

Part II provides an introduction to the nature and role of social analysis in planning. It is divided into two chapters. Chapter 3 looks at the social aspects of rural development, including the social characteristics of rural areas, the process of 'social development', and the relationship between social and economic development. And Chapter 4 focuses on the social aspects of planning, including the scope of 'social planning' in general, ways of incorporating social issues into district level planning, and the practical problems of doing so.

Part III is then devoted to the actual methods of social analysis at district level. The aim is to introduce the reader to the range of methods which can be used, when they should be used and their advantages and disadvantages. It is divided into five chapters, each of which covers a particular aspect of social analysis. Chapter 5 looks at ways of obtaining information about the social characteristics of rural societies. Chapter 6 considers the formulation of social policy, using the examples of nutrition, education and water supply. Chapter 7 looks at methods of assessing the social costs and benefits of specific projects or programmes. Chapter 8 focuses on planning to meet the special needs of disadvantaged sectors of the population, such as the poor, the landless, women and children. And finally Chapter 9 considers ways of encouraging popular participation in planning, a very important dimension of social planning which cuts across the other categories.

Each chapter begins (like this one) with a brief introduction to its contents and ends with a summary of the main points made and a short annotated list of relevant and relatively easily accessible reading material.

2.2 The Case Study Approach

In order to give some practical meaning to the material presented in Parts II and III, its application will be illustrated throughout the text by reference to a hypothetical district, called Gondwanaland, in the equally hypothetical country of New Kolonia. Some basic information about Gondwanaland

District is given in the Annex to this chapter. Then at appropriate places in Parts II and III, the application of the specific issues or methods under discussion will be demonstrated by showing how they can be applied in Gondwanaland. These illustrations will constitute an integral part of the text, but they will be presented in the form of 'boxes', so that they can be clearly distinguished from the rest of the text.

The characteristics of Gondwanaland District have been deliberately chosen to illustrate a wide variety of local conditions, in order to demonstrate the use of social analysis in the many different kinds of rural environment which exist in various parts of the world. And the use of the names Gondwanaland (which is the name given to an ancient continent made up of what is now Africa, Latin America, the Indian sub-continent and Antarctica) and New Kolonia is intended to reinforce this impression. Consequently, readers should not try to identify Gondwanaland or New Kolonia with any real-life district or country; nor should they be concerned that they have never heard of a district or a country with characteristics quite like these. Most readers will probably find that some aspects of Gondwanaland resemble conditions in their own country, while other aspects do not.

2.3 Applications of the Guidelines

As indicated in Chapter 1, these Guidelines are intended for use by trainers or practitioners of rural area development planning. However, they cannot in their present form be used as either a training course or a manual. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, a training course or manual would require more detail than it has been possible to provide here, particularly on how to use the various methods or techniques described in Part III. Secondly, it should be written in a more didactic, or 'how to do it' form, including (for example) step-by-step instructions and sample exercises. And thirdly, a training course or manual on area planning is most useful if it is designed specially for use in a particular country, and preferably also for a particular cadre of staff in that country. The intention here, therefore, is merely to indicate to trainers and practitioners the role which social analysis can play, the main issues involved and the range of methods available. Hence the use of the term **guidelines**.

Because the Guidelines are intended for use in a wide variety of countries, each with its own particular physical, social, economic and political/administrative conditions and its own approach to planning, they have been designed so that the material can be used in a number of different ways, depending on the particular interests of the user. For example, it is envisaged that some readers may wish to read the whole text in order to gain an overview of the field as a whole, while others may, after reading Part I, review the contents of Parts II and III and (at least initially) select only those

sections which appear to be immediately relevant to their particular needs. For those who are not sure whether or how various sections might be relevant to their own situation, the use of the hypothetical case study district (introduced in section 2.2) should give some indication of possible uses.

For similar reasons, the **Guidelines do not provide guidance on the overall approach to planning** which might be adopted at district level. In fact, the intention is that most of the issues raised and methods described here are applicable in a wide range of planning approaches. It is recommended that any reader who wants to know more about alternative planning approaches refer to the earlier publication in this series, entitled **Rural Area Development Planning: A Review and Synthesis of Approaches**. However, this does not mean that the overall approach to planning is not important. On the contrary, it should be emphasised that, as already noted in Chapter 1, the aspects of planning covered in these Guidelines should not be practised in isolation but as part of a wider, integrated planning system.

2.4 Some Hints for Trainers

For the benefit of those readers who wish to use these Guidelines to help formulate a training course, it may be useful to give some more specific ideas as to how this might be done. It is suggested that, after either reading the Guidelines as a whole or gaining a general idea of their scope and content, the following questions be addressed:

1. *Who is the training course for?*

For example, is it for people working at a level equivalent to a 'district' and, if not, what is their interest in 'district' planning? Will all the trainees be from one district and/or one discipline, sector or department? What particular interest, if any, do they have in the social aspects of planning?

2. *Will the course focus solely on the social aspects of planning?*

If it will, it is necessary to be aware of the broader planning framework within which social issues will be addressed. If it will not, there is a need to think about the relative importance of social issues in relation to other parts of the course and how they can best be integrated into the course as a whole.

3. *Is the overall approach to planning practised in the district and/or country concerned clearly articulated and the methodology specifically defined?*

If it is, the need is merely to define how the social aspects of planning fit into this; but if it is not, it will be necessary to think more carefully about the various ways in which social issues might be addressed in the absence of a comprehensive planning system.

4. *What specific sections of the Guidelines are most relevant?*

It should be quite easy to answer this question after addressing the first three, since by then it should be reasonably clear what aspects of social analysis should be covered in the course. It should be noted that in some cases the course may focus on only one aspect of social analysis (eg. assessing social costs and benefits, participatory planning).

5. *How can the material in the Guidelines be related to the practical situations faced by the trainees?*

There are several ways in which this can be done, depending in part on the type of trainees and the time and resources available for training. The three most obvious possibilities are:

- to develop case study material from one or more districts with which the trainees are familiar and use it in the same way that examples from the hypothetical district, Gondwanaland, are used in the Guidelines;
- to carry out practical field exercises in one or more districts as an integral part of the course; and
- to get trainees to relate course material to their own personal experiences through seminar discussions, written assignments or individual in-course field exercises.

6. *What additional information is needed to supplement that in the Guidelines?*

In order to turn the Guidelines into a training manual, there is a need for more detail on each of the issues or techniques selected, including step-by-step information on how to use the techniques, worked examples and/or the kinds of case studies or practical exercises discussed under 5. above. The reading lists at the end of each chapter should help the trainer to get the information needed.

7. *What is the best way of communicating information to the trainees?*

The answer to this question will depend on both the type of information concerned and the type of trainees. Two of the most important considerations - notably the need to relate the material to the trainees' own experiences and to present instructions in a detailed step-by-step format - have already been covered under 5. and 6. above. In addition, it should be noted that a course on social analysis should aim to impart not only new skills and knowledge but also new **attitudes** - especially attitudes towards rural people. This can best be done by putting the trainees into a position where they can appreciate rural people's point of view. Two ways of doing this are extended field visits and role-playing exercises.

8. *What resources are available for the training programme?*

The term 'resources' is used here to include finance, trainers, training aids and time. The aim should be to produce the best training programme possible with the resources available.

When all these questions have been addressed, the trainer should have most of the information needed to prepare a course which will both meet the particular training need and be feasible in terms of the resources available.

SUMMARY

- The rest of the publication is divided into two parts: Part II provides an introduction to the nature and role of social analysis in rural area development planning and Part III examines specific analytical techniques.
 - The issues raised and techniques described are illustrated by using examples from a hypothetical district, called Gondwanaland.
 - The publication is not intended to be used as a training course or operational manual. It is intended merely as guidelines, which can be used in a number of different ways and a number of different types of planning system.
 - Trainers who wish to use the Guidelines to prepare a training course of manual should ask themselves a number of basic questions about the purpose of training, the methods to be used and the resources available. This will help them to adapt the material presented here to their particular needs.
-

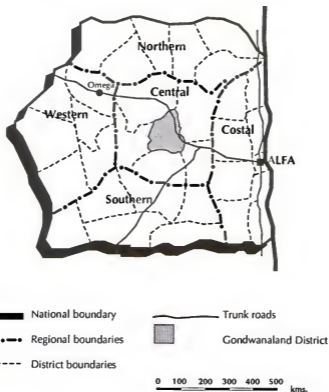
ANNEX

INTRODUCTION TO GONDWANALAND DISTRICT

Location

Gondwanaland is one of six districts in the Central Region of New Kolonia (see Map 1). The district headquarters, Gondwana, is about 475 kms. by road from the national capital and main port of Alfa. The area of the district is 16,575 sq.kms.

MAP 1 - LOCATION OF GONDWANALAND DISTRICT



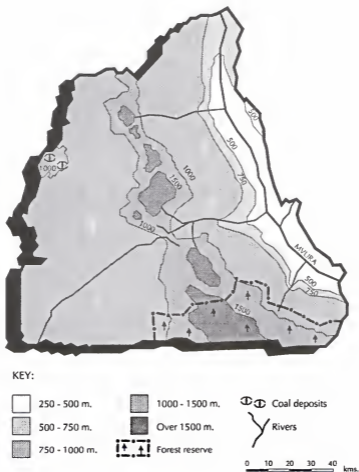
Natural resources

The district is varied in terrain (see Map 2). Most of the area consists of an undulating plateau between 700 and 900 metres in altitude. However, a ridge of hills, rising to over 1500 metres in places, traverses the central part of the district in a northwest-southeasterly direction, while the eastern boundary of the district is marked by the valley of the River Mvura.

The average annual rainfall varies from 1000-1250 mms. in the hills to 400-500 mms. in the 'rain shadow' area in the extreme west of the district. In the remaining areas it is mainly between 700 and 900 mms.

There is a large area of indigenous forest in the southeast of the district, which is designated as a forest reserve and managed by the state-owned National Forestry Commission. There is no mining activity in the district at present, but there are some undeveloped coal deposits in the extreme west.

MAP 2 - GONDWANALAND: PHYSICAL FEATURES

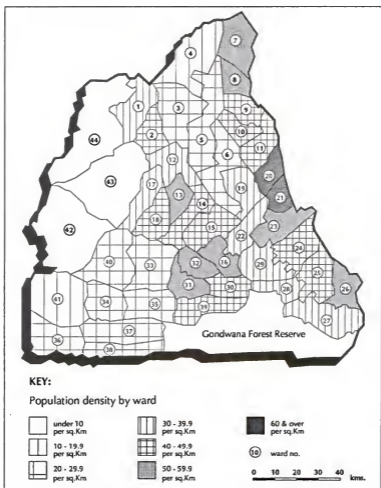


Population

The total population of the district (based on a national census carried out in 1990) is approximately 445,000. The average population density for the district as a whole (including the forest reserve) is 27 per sq.km. However, densities vary from 50-70 per sq.km. in the most densely populated parts of the hills and the Mvura valley to less than 10 per sq.km. in the semi-arid western area (see Map 3).

There are two main ethnolinguistic groups in the District: the Gonds, who account for about 52% of the population and inhabit the river valley and the eastern part of the plateau area; and the Wana, who account for about 42% and are dominant in the hills and the southwestern part of the plateau. They are two of the main ethnolinguistic groups in New Kolonia, accounting for 20% and 18% respectively of the national population. However, the semi-arid western part of the district is occupied by the Hurda, who are one of a number of small minority groups inhabiting the central part of the country. They are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, very different in physical characteristics, culture and mode of life from the dominant Gonds and Wana. They account for just over 5% of the total district population.

MAP 3 - GONDWANALAND: POPULATION DENSITY



Agro-economic zones

The district can be divided into five main 'agro-economic' zones (see Map 4) on the basis of natural resources, population, agriculture and other economic activities. The main characteristics of these zones are as follows:

Zone I: *This is the Mvura River valley. It is a wide, flat-bottomed valley, with fertile alluvial soils and an average annual rainfall of 700-900 mms. It is one of the most densely populated parts of the district, inhabited predominantly by Gonds, who cultivate rice, millet, sweet potatoes and vegetables and keep small numbers of cattle. A simple system of flood irrigation is used for rice and vegetable cultivation. Damage to crops and settlements sometimes occurs, when the river floods more than usual.*

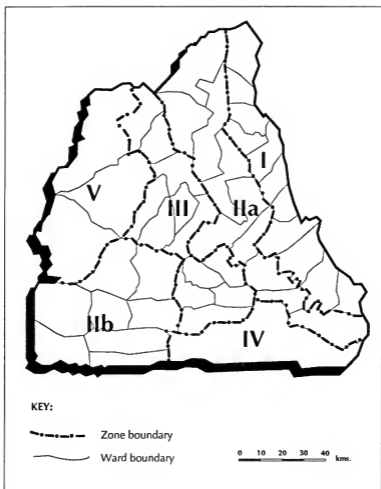
Zone II: *This is an undulating plateau with moderately fertile, predominantly black soils and an average rainfall of 700-900 mms. It is less densely populated than Zone I. The main food crop is millet, while cotton and sunflower are important cash crops. Irrigation is not practised. There are considerable numbers of cattle and goats. The zone is divided into two parts by the ridge of hills which dissects the district: Zone IIa, which lies east of the hills and is inhabited predominantly by Gonds; and Zone IIb, which lies to the southwest of the hills and is inhabited mainly by Wana.*

Zone III: *This is the hilly part of the district. The soils are red and moderately fertile, but there are some steep slopes where soils are shallow and cultivation is not possible. The rainfall varies according to location but averages 1000-1250 mms. per annum. The area is densely populated, although densities vary depending on the availability of cultivable land. There is a shortage of land and, due to this and the steep slopes, erosion is a serious problem. The people are predominantly Wana. They cultivate maize, bananas, coffee and vegetables and keep as many cattle as they can on the limited land available. Irrigation is sometimes used.*

Zone IV: *The natural resources of this zone are similar to those of Zone III. However, the area is covered by indigenous forest, which is managed as a state forest reserve by the National Forestry Commission. No-one is allowed to live in the reserve, but it is illegally used for grazing cattle and cutting firewood by Wana from the neighbouring parts of Zone III. The Forestry Commission cuts and sells timber from the area, but only at a rate which allows natural regeneration.*

Zone V: *This is an undulating plateau, similar to Zone II but with a significantly lower rainfall (400-500 mms. per annum) because it is in the rain shadow created by the hills. It is sparsely populated, almost entirely by the semi-nomadic pastoral Hurda, who keep large herds of cattle and goats. There is a small amount of millet cultivation. The undeveloped coal deposits are in this zone.*

MAP 4 - GONDWANALAND: AGRO-ECONOMIC ZONES

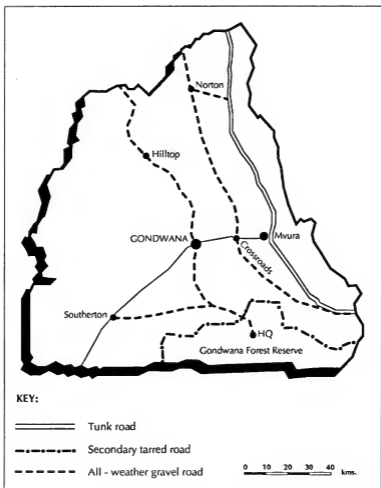


Infrastructure and settlement

Map 5 shows the main roads and towns in the district. The largest town is Gondwana, which is located near the border of Zones II and III. It is the administrative headquarters of the district and the main commercial centre and it has a few small-scale industries and a hospital. The only other significant urban settlement is Mvura, which is on the main trunk road from Alfa (the national capital) to the inland industrial city of Omega, at the junction with the main road to Gondwana. However, there are four smaller urban settlements - Norton, Crossroads, Southerton and Hilltop, located in Zones I, IIa, IIb and III respectively - and a number of minor trading centres not shown on the map. There are no settlements of any size in Zone V.

There are two tarred roads in the district: the main trunk road from Alfa to Omega, which follows the edge of the Mvura valley; and the road from Mvura to Gondwana, which goes on to Southerton. Most parts of the district are reasonably well served by all-weather gravel roads. The exception again is Zone V, which is very isolated because the only access is a poor quality earth road which is often impassable when there is heavy rain in the hills.

MAP 5 - GONDWANALAND: INFRASTRUCTURE AND SETTLEMENT



Local government and administration

Like all districts in New Kolonia, Gondwana has a district council. Its main functions are the construction and maintenance of all non-tarred roads, the construction and operation of primary and secondary schools (though curriculum and standards are a central government responsibility and teachers belong to a national teaching service), the construction and operation of clinics and the provision of a mobile primary health care service (subject again to national policy), environmental health services, the construction and maintenance of rural and urban water supplies, and the licensing of business enterprises. The district is divided into 44 wards, each with an elected councillor. Elections are held every three years. The Council's main sources of revenue are a poll tax (which never yields as much money as intended), licence fees and grants from the central government.

At the local level, each village is required by government to elect a village development committee, to oversee the administration development of the village. The chairpersons of these committees are, among other duties, responsible for collecting poll tax on behalf of the Council. Each village also has a village court, which has jurisdiction over matters related to traditional or customary law.

Various central government agencies are represented in the district, including the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (which has an extension officer in each ward), the Ministry of Education (which oversees the Council's education services), the Ministry of Health (which runs the district hospital and supervises Council clinics), the Ministry of Public Works (responsible for the maintenance of tarred roads and government buildings), the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare (which has extension staff at ward level), the Ministry of Cooperatives, the National Forestry Commission, and the National Agricultural Marketing Board. However, the district representatives of these agencies have very limited powers, most decisions being made at provincial and, in particular, national levels.

The most senior public servant in the district is the District Secretary, who is the representative of the Prime Minister's Office. He is supposed to coordinate all development activities in the district, but his ability to do this is limited because he has no direct control over the staff of other ministries. The main instrument of coordination is the District Development Committee (DDC), which is chaired by the District Secretary and composed of representatives of the various central government agencies and the District Council. However, since it is little more than an advisory body, its impact is also limited. Its main role is to determine the allocation of the Rural Development Fund (RDF), a sum of about NK\$ 1 million which is made available annually to each district to support small-scale development projects.

National government

New Kolonia has a multi-party system of government. There are two main parties, the National Development Party (NDP), and the People's Progressive Party (PPP). Support for the two parties tends to be based on etnolinguistic divisions. Thus, for example, most Gonds vote for the NDP while the Wana tend to support the PPP. Elections are normally held every five years. At the last election, which was three years ago, the NDP was elected by a majority of 61%. However, its popularity has since declined, primarily due to the harsh effects of an IMF/World Bank sponsored structural adjustment programme, which the NDP government embarked upon two years ago. The PPP is thus campaigning strongly for early elections.

Although local government elections are not officially held on party lines, national party politics tends to have a major indirect influence because of the connection between etlnic origin and party affiliation. This is especially true in districts like Gondwanaland, where the population is fairly evenly divided between supporters of the two parties.

PART II.

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS IN PLANNING

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

- 3.1 The social characteristics of rural areas
- 3.2 The concept of social development
- 3.3 The relationship between social and economic development
- 3.4 The politics of social development
- 3.5 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the social aspects of development in rural areas. It examines the social characteristics of rural areas, the nature and scope of 'social development', the relationship between social and economic development, and the political aspects of social development. Its aim is to introduce the reader to the types of issues which need to be considered when looking at area development planning from a social point of view.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

3.1 The Social Characteristics of Rural Areas

The term 'social characteristics' is (as indicated in section 1.3) used to refer to any or all of the following aspects of an area:

- demographic structure (eg. size and density of population, rate of population growth, age and sex structure);
- ethno-linguistic characteristics (ie. division of the population on the basis of 'physical' characteristics, such as race, tribe, clan or language);
- social structure (eg. leadership structures, division on the basis of class or caste, gender relations, degrees and forms of cooperative activity);
- inheritance systems, including land tenure;
- religious beliefs and practices;
- other cultural beliefs and practices (eg. particular customs, ceremonies, taboos, prejudices); and
- individual and group attitudes to any aspect of life (including actual or proposed development activities), which may result from any of the other social characteristics (eg. social structure, religious or cultural beliefs) and/or from the personal views of the individuals or groups concerned.

It is very difficult to generalize about the characteristics of rural areas, even if one confines oneself to the so-called less developed countries, since there is enormous variation both between and within countries. And it is particularly difficult to generalize about the social characteristics because there tends to be a great deal of local variation, including variations due to differences in the social position, behaviour and attitudes of individuals or small groups of people. For example, one should not be surprised to find significant social differences between neighbouring villages in the same agro-economic environment.

This has major implications for social analysis. It means that one should not make decisions which affect the lives of people in an area on the basis of inadequate or over-generalized information on the social characteristics of the area. And this in turn means that obtaining basic information on the social characteristics of an area is an important component of social analysis. The various ways in which such information can be obtained will be discussed in Chapter 5. Meanwhile, Box 3.1 illustrates the type of information one might obtain and the degree of variation which exists by presenting 'pen portraits' of two villages in the hilly area (agroeconomic zone III) of Gondwanaland District.

However, despite the great deal of variation, it is possible to make some very broad generalizations about some of the social characteristics of rural societies. It is particularly important that those involved in planning at district level note the following characteristics:

1. The integrated nature of rural society

Most rural societies are relatively 'integrated', in the sense that the various components of life (eg. agricultural and non-agricultural, 'economic', 'social' and 'political', religious and secular) are closely interrelated. Rural people do not easily recognize the distinctions which planners, extension workers and other government officials make between, for example, the responsibilities of different agencies or 'economic' and 'social' planning, because in their own lives all these things affect each other. This is why an integrated approach to planning is essential at this level - and why projects or programmes which are planned from only one point of view (eg. the 'agricultural' or the 'economic') frequently fail because they do not take account of other related aspects.

2. The importance of the natural resource base

Most people in rural areas are dependent directly or indirectly on the natural resources of the area for their livelihood. Most rural planners, and especially agricultural planners, recognize this, and thus emphasize the importance of agricultural development activities. However, sometimes they do not appreciate its full implications. They do not always realize the intricate nature of the relationship between the people and their environment, which has evolved over centuries and is reflected in all aspects of life, not merely those directly related to agricultural production.

Since agricultural projects and programmes almost inevitably involve some change in this relationship between people and environment, they will only be successful if all aspects of the present relationship are taken into consideration in the planning stage. This does not mean that the existing relationship is the best one, or that there is always a 'natural' balance between human activities

BOX 3.1

A PROFILE OF TWO VILLAGES

Muriwana and Wiriwana are two villages in Zone III, the hilly part of Gondwanaland District. Although they are both in the same agro-economic zone, there are significant differences in their social characteristics, due to a combination of locational and historical factors and the impact of individual personalities. The main characteristics of each are summarised below.

Background: *Muriwana is located on the main gravel road from Gondwana to Hilltop. It is a large village, with a general store, bar, coffee huller, grinding mill, primary and secondary schools and clinic. It is an important coffee growing area. Wiriwana is in the extreme southwest of the zone, 5 kms. from the nearest all-weather road. It is a much smaller village and, although it has its own primary school, the nearest store, coffee huller, secondary school and clinic are located at a village on this road, about 6 kms. away. There is much less coffee than in Muriwana, because of transport and processing problems.*

Demography: *Muriwana has 112 households, with a total population of about 630, and its population growth rate of 2.8% per annum is higher than the district average due to a considerable amount of in-migration. Wiriwana has only 30 households and 152 people; many people (especially young men) leave the village, either temporarily or permanently, in search of employment, resulting in a below average growth rate (2.2% per annum), an unusually large proportion of children and elderly people, and a large number of female-headed households.*

Ethnolinguistic characteristics: *Both villages are inhabited predominantly by Wana; but in Muriwana there are also small numbers of Gonds and Hurda.*

Social structure: *Muriwana consists of three main hamlets, which are inhabited by different clans, each with its own traditional leader. However, the official village development committee, which covers all three hamlets, is chaired by a school teacher, who is an 'outsider' and thus does not belong to any of the three main clans. There are significant income inequalities within the village, with the large coffee growers and those with non-agricultural income at one end of the scale and a number of landless labourers and female-headed households at the other. Wiriwana, on the other hand, is a much more cohesive community, consisting of only one clan and thus one traditional leader, who is also the chairman of the*

../-

Box 3.1 (cont.)

village development committee. Income differentials are less, the wealthiest being those who grow coffee or receive a regular income from migrant workers and the poorest being households headed by widows or women whose husbands have deserted them.

Land tenure: In Muriwana the traditional communal land tenure system has largely broken down, so most land is owned individually and can be bought and sold. But in Wiriwana communal land tenure still prevails, though coffee (and other) trees are individually owned.

Religious beliefs: In Muriwana there is a mixture of religious groups, including Protestants, Catholics and Muslims, while some people do not practise any religion. In Wiriwana, almost everyone belongs to the Catholic church, which has had a mission nearby for many years and runs the local primary school.

Other beliefs and practices: Many traditional cultural beliefs and practices have broken down in Muriwana. There is, in particular, very little traditional cooperative activity, and that which remains is practised on a clan rather than a village basis. In Wiriwana traditional beliefs and practices continue to be important and there is a strong spirit of cooperation based on traditional practice.

Attitudes to 'development': The people of Muriwana are, on the whole, ambitious and individualistic - willing to try something new but on an individual rather than a community basis. In contrast, the people of Wiriwana are less ambitious and more cautious about adopting innovations, but much more willing to embark upon group ventures.

and the environment. In many cases, this is not so, and that is often why some sort of intervention is necessary. It merely means that one cannot introduce change without considering all the aspects or implications of the change, and that means understanding the full nature of the relationship between people and environment.

3. The mixture of cohesion and division in rural society

Stereotype images of rural society tend to fall into two apparently contradictory categories. Some people think that rural communities are places where there are strong social and economic ties between the various individuals and groups, wealth is relatively equally distributed, and there is a

high degree of traditional cooperation which can be utilised as the basis for developing new forms of cooperative venture. The other school of thought argues that rural communities are characterised by inter-group and inter-personal competition and conflict, inequality, and concern with individual rather than community needs and priorities.

This difference of opinion can be partly explained by the variation between countries and between individual communities within a country. For example, someone whose experience is in Africa is more likely to have the first view than someone from Asia or Latin America, where rural inequalities tend to be greater and more obvious. Similarly, the two villages in Gondwanaland District described in Box 3.1 demonstrate the degree of variation possible between individual communities.

However, it can also be explained by the fact that most communities are in fact a complex mixture of the two stereotypes. For example, there are usually strong social and economic ties within a community and a tradition of cooperative effort for certain activities. But this does not normally result in equality and harmony. There is usually a considerable amount of competition and conflict and some individuals and groups tend to gain much more from the socio-economic linkages than others. Furthermore, the fact that some activities are traditionally undertaken on a cooperative basis does not mean that the community will willingly and easily embark upon other forms of cooperative activity, especially if these are of a commercial nature. Perhaps the most important thing to remember is that, because all rural communities are composed of various individuals and groups, each with its own needs, interests and priorities, one should be very cautious about making statements or assumptions such as 'This community thinks this way' or 'This village is willing to do this'.

4. The mixture of inward- and outward-looking tendencies

The situation is similar when one considers the extent to which people in rural communities foster or are dependent upon linkages with individuals or organizations outside the immediate community. Firstly, there is much variation from one place to another. For example, in areas near cities or where the agricultural system is highly commercialised, external linkages will obviously be stronger than in isolated communities dependent primarily on subsistence production. There are also significant differences of this sort between the two Gondwanaland villages described in Box 3.1.

However, in most cases one finds that, although there are (as indicated above) strong social and economic ties within the community, there are also important external linkages. These take many forms, including links through marriage outside the community, the movement of temporary migrants (and/or their remittances) in and out of the community for economic or educational purposes, trading links, and links resulting from the use of social

and administrative services (eg. hospitals, government offices) outside the community. In order to understand any particular rural community, and therefore its development potential and problems, it is necessary to understand the nature and importance of these linkages.

5. The mixture of continuity and change in rural society

There is also a tendency for so-called 'experts' in rural development to have contradictory views on the extent to which people in rural areas are willing to accept innovation and change. One school of thought emphasizes the importance of traditional culture and behaviour and the generally conservative nature of rural (and especially agricultural) people, illustrating its case with examples of farmers who have refused to accept agricultural innovations advocated by extension workers. The other argues that rural people are always willing to try new ideas and traditional customs seldom hamper innovation.

Once again, this can be partly explained by actual differences between communities. For example, in the case of the two villages illustrated in Box 3.1, Wiriwana is, because of its relatively isolated location and 'older' population, more obviously 'conservative' in attitude than Muriwana. However, there is more to it than that. In reality most rural communities display a complex mixture of 'progressive' and 'conservative' characteristics. There are two main reasons for this.

Firstly, most people are influenced by both 'traditional' and 'modern' customs and attitudes, often in a complex way which results in all sorts of conflicts and contradictions within individuals, families and groups. Anyone who was born in a village but has spent much of his or her life in urban employment is well aware of this. It is the combined effects of the traditional and modern influences which determine how an individual or community reacts to innovation. For example, although Wiriwana village might at first sight appear to be rather conservative, closer investigation is likely to reveal that the people will be willing to adopt changes provided that these can be integrated into the existing social structures and customs. In fact, such structures and customs can actually be beneficial - for example, by providing a basis for cooperative activities, which are unlikely to be successful in Muriwana.

Secondly, most people weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of adopting any form of innovation very carefully before making a decision, and in so doing they assess these advantages and disadvantages according to their own criteria - which may not always be the same as those of the people in the next house or village, or those of the extension worker (or other person) advocating the change. There is much debate, particularly among economists, as to whether rural people behave rationally. In most cases, the answer to this

question depends on how one defines 'rational'. If 'rational' means choosing the course of action which a professional economist considers to be the most economically productive, few people - rural or otherwise - are consistently rational. But if 'rational' means weighing up the perceived advantages and disadvantages, economic and otherwise, and making a decision accordingly, most rural people behave rationally. It is therefore important that extension workers and planners try to see things from the people's point of view, so that they can understand how and why decisions are made.

The main conclusion which emerges from all these points is the complexity of rural society and, therefore, the need for those involved in rural planning to understand these complexities. The various ways in which such an understanding can be acquired will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.2 The Concept of Social Development

There is widespread agreement that any kind of rural development policy or programme should consider the social as well as the economic aspects of development in rural areas. There are two main arguments in favour of this. One is that the social and economic aspects of development are so closely related that one cannot pursue one aspect without also considering the other. The other argument is that, irrespective of its relationship to economic development, 'social development' is a desirable objective in its own right. The validity of these arguments and their implications in terms of overall development strategies and priorities will be considered in section 3.3. Before doing so, however, it is necessary in this section to look briefly at what is meant by 'social development', how it is measured and what it involves.

What is social development?

There are many different ways of defining 'social development', or the 'social aspects' of development, depending on how one defines the word 'social'. For the purposes of these Guidelines, however, the term 'social development' will be used to mean positive changes in relation to any of those issues or activities defined as 'social' in section 1.3 of Chapter 1, notably:

- the social characteristics of the area or society;
- the overall quality of life;
- availability of and access to social services; and
- social justice.

To simplify subsequent discussion, these four will collectively be referred to as 'social conditions'.

Measuring social development

As with economic development, it is necessary to be able to measure the degree or 'level' of social development in a particular area or society at a given point in time, so that one can make comparisons between areas or societies and record changes over time. In order to do this, one must select appropriate **social indicators** - that is, things that can be measured in order to give a good indication of the degree or level of social development. When selecting appropriate social indicators, there are three main requirements which need to be considered.

Social indicators

Firstly, the indicators should provide an adequate reflection of the type of social development one is trying to measure. This means that they should cover all relevant aspects of social development (social characteristics, quality of life, social services, social justice) and that they should reflect what is generally agreed as being a 'positive' change in these characteristics. In some cases, this is relatively easy. For example, there are some fairly obvious and generally accepted indicators of quality of life (eg. per capita income; infant mortality; food consumption; quality of housing) and of access to social services (eg. distance to the nearest school, health facility or water supply; school attendance; population per doctor).

However, even in these cases there are debatable issues, especially when one gets down to the details of exactly what to measure. Should one measure food consumption in terms of the total number of calories consumed or distinguish between foods with different nutrient values? Should one simply measure the quality of life by household or try to distinguish between different household members (eg. men, women and children)? Is distance to social services an adequate measure of access if other factors (eg. availability of transport, charges for services, social customs or taboos) also affect access? And when it comes to some other aspects of social development, especially those related to social justice, it is much more difficult to find appropriate indicators. For example, how does one measure respect for human rights or the degree of participation in decision-making?

Availability and collection of data

Secondly, it must be possible to obtain the data needed to actually measure the variables selected as indicators, either from secondary sources (ie. data already collected and available for use) or by cost-effective data collection exercises. This is often a major problem. Much of the information one would like to have is not available, at least in the form in which it is required, and the costs of collecting it are prohibitive. For example, most of the indicators of quality of life require detailed household surveys, which are expensive and time-consuming to undertake. The problems are particularly great at district level, especially if one requires information for a particular project or programme, rather than merely to give a general impression of the level of social development. Any secondary data available is likely to have been collected for national planning purposes, and thus to be of limited value for this particular project or programme, and one seldom has the resources necessary to carry out a comprehensive data collection exercise of one's own.

Data to enable comparisons

Thirdly, the data must be available in a form which enables comparisons to be made between different areas or societies and over time. This means that the data must be expressed in a comparative or 'scalable' form. This is easy to do when the data is in quantitative (ie. numerical) form, but it is more difficult when, as is often the case with social data, it is qualitative in nature. In the latter case, one can either use some sort of qualitative scale (eg. 'high', 'medium', 'low'; 'very good', 'good', 'fair', 'poor', 'very poor') or give brief written descriptions which indicate the main points of similarity and/or difference.

It also means that the data must be collected at regular intervals, so that comparisons can be made over time, and that it must be disaggregated (or broken down) on the basis of the areas or groups that one wishes to compare. This is often a problem at district level, if one is relying on data collected for national planning purposes. For example, most countries undertake sample household surveys at regular intervals, but the samples are generally too small to provide meaningful information about variations within a district and, because of the time taken to process large quantities of data, the information is often not available until long after it was collected, by which time it may well be out-of-date.

Choice of few 'key' indicators

Because of the problems of obtaining accurate, comprehensive data, one often has to rely on a few 'key' indicators of social development, for which information is readily available and which are correlated with other factors which it is not possible to measure. For example, per capita income, infant mortality, life expectancy at birth and adult literacy are generally recognised as useful 'key' indicators of the general quality of life. Sometimes a number of key indicators are combined to form a 'composite' index. One such example is the 'index of human suffering' illustrated in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1
INDEX OF HUMAN SUFFERING: SELECTED COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	INDEX	COUNTRY	INDEX
Denmark	1	Zimbabwe	66
USA	5	Zambia	68
UK	16	Lesotho	70
Mauritius	40	Tanzania	71
Seychelles	44	Madagascar	75
Botswana	57	Malawi	79
South Africa	61	Angola	86
Comoros	63	Mozambique	93
Swaziland	66		

Explanatory note:

The Index incorporates the following indicators:

1. Life expectancy
2. Daily caloric supply
3. Clean drinking water
4. Infant immunization
5. Secondary school enrollment
6. Gross national product per capita
7. Rate of inflation
8. Communications
9. Political freedom
10. Civil rights.

Each indicator is rated on a scale of 0 to 10 and the ratings for all indicators are then added together. The total score (which can vary from 0 to 100) is the Index of Human Suffering. Note that a high score is a negative indication, in that it indicates a high degree of suffering - or conversely a low quality of life.

Source:

Africa South&East, November 1992, p. 30; based on data compiled by the Population Crisis Committee, Washington DC, USA.

Box 3.2 provides some general information on the level of social development in Gondwanaland District, using indicators that can usually be obtained on a district basis. Chapter 5 will discuss ways of collecting this sort of information.

BOX 3.2

GONDWANALAND DISTRICT: SOME SOCIAL INDICATORS

Quality of life

Infant mortality (per 1000 live births) 1990: 68

Average proportion of children under 5 years attending clinics who were malnourished in 1992: 9%

Adult literacy 1990: male: 62%; female: 53%

Average land cultivated per household 1991: 1.9 hectares

Average number of livestock units owned per household 1991: 9

Average annual agricultural income per household 1991: NK\$560

Proportion of households owning 1990:

motor vehicle: 9% plough: 57%

bicycle: 28% radio: 25%

Social services

Proportion of primary school age children at school 1992:

male: 89% female: 78%

Proportion of 1991 primary school leavers going on to secondary school:

male: 48%; female: 35%

Proportion of population within 5 kms. of primary school 1992: 85%

Proportion of population within 10 kms. of secondary school 1992: 78%

Average class size 1992: primary: 38; secondary: 34

Proportion of population within 10 kms. of clinic 1992: 82%

Proportion of population served by mobile MCH clinic 1992: 73%

Population per doctor 1992: approx. 111,000

Population per hospital bed 1992: 1485

Proportion of households with water supply 1990:

inside house: 6% less than 100 metres: 24%

101-1000 metres: 38% over 1000 metres: 32%

Proportion of households with toilets 1990:

flush: 5%; pit: 57%; none: 38%

--/

Box 3.2 (cont.)

Social justice

Inequality between areas: Some of the indicators of quality of life and access to social services listed above are available only for the district as a whole. However, where a breakdown does exist, it suggests significant variations in some indicators. The most noticeable observation is that the standard of living in Zone V is far lower than that elsewhere (see Box 3.4 for details).

Inequality between households within areas: There is very little available statistical information. However, data from the 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey suggests the following variations:

(a) average area cultivated per household:

hectares	nil	0.1-1.0	1.1-2.0	2.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	5+
% h'holds	5	29	33	19	9	5

(b) average number of livestock units per household:

livestock units	nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+
% h'holds	12	24	26	19	13	6

(c) average annual agricultural income per household:

income \$	0-100	101-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1000+
% h'holds	8	16	32	24	12	8

Informal observations by agricultural extension workers suggest that these figures are probably fairly representative of the district as a whole, excluding Zone V.

Gender relations: There is a traditional division of labour between men and women in relation to agricultural and other activities. This tends to discriminate against women (and girls), in that they have fewer opportunities to engage in income earning activities, do most of the household work, are less likely to be involved in decision-making (especially outside the family) and (as the above statistics indicate) are likely to be less educated. However, practices vary considerably from one part of the district to another and from one household to another.

..../..

Box 3.2 (cont.)

Participation in 'development': 76% of the eligible population voted in the 1990 general election and 53% in the 1991 District Council elections. The Council tends to be dominated by a small number of councillors and is divided along Party lines. There is only one woman councillor. Each village is required to have a village development committee (VDC) but in many villages the VDC conflicts with traditional leadership structures and in some it is little more than a vehicle for party politics. The Kurda people in Zone V have little or no influence on decision-making in the district (see Box 3.4 for details).

Sources of data

Reports of 1990 National Population Census
Report of 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey
District records of Ministries of Education and Health
Reports of agricultural extension staff
General knowledge/observation

Note: NK\$1 = US\$0.25

Social development as a learning process

How does one achieve the kinds of positive change in social conditions which constitute 'social development'? There is no simple answer to this question, since it depends on the aspect of social development concerned. Most of the material in the rest of this chapter and subsequent chapters is concerned, directly or indirectly, with ways of achieving social development.

However, there is one very important general point which applies to all aspects of social development and thus warrants mention at this stage. This is the fact that social development should be seen not as a mechanistic operation but as a process which involves people and their modes of life. This has several implications in terms of the overall approach to social development programmes and projects - and, since social and economic development are interrelated, to other types of development activity too.

Firstly, it means that there is no one 'right' way of tackling any particular aspect of social development, since a great deal depends on the particular

individuals or groups of people involved. One may be able to draw some general lessons from experiences elsewhere, but these must be adapted to suit the particular needs, priorities and aspirations of each case. Box 3.3 illustrates this point. It describes what happened when agricultural extension staff tried to introduce a 'model' development project in the two very different Gondwanaland villages of Muriwana and Wiriwana.

Secondly, it suggests that programmes and projects cannot be planned in a rigid 'blueprint' manner, since it is impossible to predict exactly what will happen once they get underway. There is therefore a need for a flexible approach to planning, in which progress is closely monitored and the original project design modified, extended or (if necessary) abandoned in the light of the experience gained. Box 3.3 also illustrates this point.

Thirdly, it means that the people who are affected by a project or programme must be involved in all stages of it, including the planning, implementation and monitoring. This is the only way that the essential 'human element' of the project or programme can be incorporated in it. It is also important that in such cases, the planners and extension workers regard the people as active and equal participants in the development process, not as passive 'objects' of development. The aim should be a team approach, in which both professionals and people learn from each other. Many of the problems of the development project described in Box 3.3 could have been avoided if this sort of participatory approach had been adopted.

Social scientists often use the terms 'social learning' or 'learning process' to describe the individually-tailored, flexible, participatory approach to planning described above. Chapter 9 will describe in more detail how to adopt such an approach.

BOX 3.3

THE MODEL VEGETABLE GARDEN PROJECT

The project

In 1989 the research division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources developed a new variety of cabbage suitable for cultivation by simple irrigation in Zone III of Gondwanaland District. It was therefore decided to establish a model irrigated vegetable garden, devoted entirely or primarily to cabbages, in each ward of the Zone. The gardens were supposed to be run on a cooperative basis by village development committees (VDCs) and the cabbages were intended primarily for sale. The Gondwanaland District Development Committee agreed that funds for the project would be provided from the district's Rural Development Fund.

Experience with the project varied very much from one ward to another. The experience in Muriwana and Wiriwana villages illustrates this.

Experience in Muriwana

The agricultural extension officer responsible for the Muriwana garden had great difficulty getting the project off the ground. Few people in the village were interested in agricultural projects, the VDC did not have the support of the majority of villagers and it was difficult to get land for a communal project because most of the land is individually owned. Eventually it was agreed to use land belonging to one of the three clan leaders, who was the owner of the village store and one of the wealthiest people in the village. Membership of the project was limited to members of his clan and, although it began on a cooperative basis, it was gradually taken over by the storekeeper, who sold the cabbages in his store to both local residents and travellers along the Gondwana-Hilltop road. It thus became a very successful business but not quite the sort of project envisaged by the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

../-

Box 3.3 (cont.)

Experience in Wiriwana

In Wiriwana the people were enthusiastic about the project from the start. They were in need of a source of cash income and, because of the lack of alternative income-earning opportunities and the influence of the Catholic Mission (which had been running an adult literacy project with a strong agricultural focus in the village for several years), they were keen to try a new agricultural venture. The VDC was active and represented the majority of the village and there was no problem getting land because most of it was communally owned. However, the first year's experience was disappointing because it was not possible to transport the cabbages to a market and so many rotted. The VDC therefore decided to change the focus of the project. The next year a wider variety of vegetables was grown and these were used primarily for subsistence. The garden thus became a valuable source of food for the village, but it did not differ greatly from a traditional vegetable garden. Moreover, although most families benefited from it, there were a few of the poorest families who had been excluded from the start, partly because they could not afford the initial joining fee levied by the VDC and partly because they were female-headed households and thus lacked influence on the VDC.

3.3 The Relationship between Social and Economic Development

It was mentioned at the beginning of section 3.2 that it is necessary to consider both the social and the economic aspects of development. However, this raises important questions about the relationship between social and economic development. Are the two complementary, in the sense that social development leads to economic development, and vice versa? Or are they in conflict with each other, in which case one has to make choices - or 'trade-offs' - between social and economic development?

Brief Historical Review

There has been much debate on this subject among academics and international aid agencies. In the 1950s the main emphasis was on economic growth. But by the mid-1960s, it was recognized that social issues must also be considered. It was, in particular, noted that improvements in health and education contribute to economic productivity, that social factors (eg. social structures, cultural practices, attitudes towards development) affect the success of economic development projects, and that national economic growth can increase the gap between rich and poor unless conscious measures are taken to prevent this happening. This led to a change in focus during the 1970s, resulting in an emphasis on meeting 'basic human needs', the provision of social services, participatory development approaches, and 'growth with equity' policies. This new focus was consistent with the ideologies of many 'developing' countries, especially those with a 'socialist' bias.

However, by the early 1980s there were signs of another change, due to the fact that many of these supposedly 'developing' countries were experiencing severe economic problems and were in many respects becoming less developed. There were many reasons for these problems, but it was widely believed that one reason was that too much emphasis had been placed on social development, especially the provision of social services and attempts to reduce the gap between rich and poor by curbing private enterprise, at the expense of economic growth. The 1980s, therefore, were characterized by a renewed emphasis on economic growth, manifested in the form of free-market, 'monetarist' policies, advocated in particular by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) under the name of 'stabilisation' and 'structural adjustment' programmes.

The early 1990s have witnessed a continuation of these policies, reinforced by the collapse of the centrally-planned socialist economies of the former 'eastern bloc' countries. However, there have been some subtle but significant changes.

In the first place, considerable concern has been expressed at both national and international levels about the impact of structural adjustment programmes on social development, especially the increase in poverty due to unemployment, inflation and the introduction of (or increase in) charges for social services. These problems were recognized by the IMF and World Bank during the 1980s, resulting in the incorporation of measures to ameliorate the worst of these effects into the structural adjustment 'package'. However, these measures were based on the assumption that such effects would be short-lived and that the long term impact of structural adjustment would be a reduction of poverty. There is increasing evidence to suggest that, if or when the economic benefits of structural adjustment occur, they may do little to reduce poverty and will probably increase inequality. Because of these concerns, the World Bank has launched a major initiative to try to tackle the problem of poverty, particularly - but not only - in Africa.

The other change has been an increase in concern about 'democracy' and human rights, which has been closely associated with the collapse of the former eastern bloc and the widespread disillusionment with 'socialist' ideologies. The most obvious implications of this are the moves from one-party to multi-party political systems and the increasing pressure (from within the countries concerned and outside) on governments which infringe basic human rights - for example, by restricting the press, detaining people without charge, and/or mistreating 'political' prisoners. In other words, a new dimension of 'social development' has begun to attract attention.

What does this brief historical review of the relative importance attached to the economic and social aspects of development tell us about the relationship between them? The main conclusion which can be drawn is that this relationship is very complex. There is no simple answer to the question posed at the beginning of this section: do social and economic development complement each other or conflict with each other? The answer depends on the aspects of social and economic development concerned and on the level (eg. national, regional or local; group or individual) at which the effect is felt. This will be demonstrated by looking at a few specific examples relevant to rural area development planning, all of which can be illustrated by the Gondwanaland vegetable garden project described in Box 3.3.

Example 1

The impact of social structure on agricultural innovation

The social structure of a society or community (ie. the leadership structure, divisions on the basis of clan, caste or class, gender relations, etc.) has a major impact on the extent to which, and way in which, any kind of agricultural innovation is adopted. This is clearly illustrated by the example in Box 3.3. The differences in social structure between Muriwana and Wiriwana accounted for many of the differences in the form which the 'model' vegetable garden project took in the two villages. In this case, it is not possible to conclude that social structure in general, or any particular type of social structure, either helps or hinders agricultural innovation, since it depends on the type of innovation and the degree of flexibility in the project design. In order for an innovation to succeed, it is necessary to design the project (or adapt a 'model' project design) in such a way that it 'fits' the local social structure while at the same time achieving the original project objectives.

Example 2

The impact of cash crop production on nutrition

There is much debate among both agriculturalists and nutritionists as to whether an increase in cash crop production has a positive or a negative impact on nutrition. On the one hand, it can be argued that cash cropping increases family income and thus enables the family to buy more and/or more nutritious food. But it can also be argued that cash cropping reduces the resources (especially time) available for food crop production and that the increased income is not necessarily spent on more or, in particular, more nutritious food. In reality, the impact depends on a number of factors, including whether there are enough resources to increase cash crop production without reducing food crops, whether the cash crop can be eaten as well as sold, what things other than food the family has to spend money on, which member(s) of the household decide how the money from crop sales is spent, and how much is known about the nutritional value of alternative kinds of food.

In the example of the vegetable garden project in Box 3.3, the impact on nutrition was probably very different in the two villages. In Muriwana, the project is likely to have improved the nutrition of those people who bought cabbages from the storekeeper, especially if it meant that there were more cabbages available and/or the price was cheaper, and it may also have had some impact on the nutritional status of the storekeeper and his family, if any of the extra income generated was used to buy more or more nutritious food. In Wiriwana, the project started out as a cash cropping project but, because of the marketing problems, it was decided to switch the emphasis to domestic consumption and one can probably assume that there was some improvement in nutrition as a result. If most of the produce had been sold for cash, the impact on nutrition would have depended on how the money earned was spent; however, since in this case production (and therefore also earnings) was mainly in the hands of the women, there is a good chance that it would also have resulted in improved nutrition.

Example 3

The impact of education on agricultural innovation

There is a similar debate about the relationship between education and agricultural innovation. On the one hand, it is claimed that education increases people's receptiveness to new ideas, makes it easier for them to understand extension messages, and increases their ambition and therefore their willingness to embark on new income-generating activities. And on the other hand, it is argued that many people see education as a means of getting non-agricultural employment, and so the more educated members of a community tend to migrate to towns and/or lose interest in farming. In this case, the actual impact depends to a considerable extent on the type of education. Many countries and individual development projects attempt to increase the agricultural component of education, especially at primary level and in adult education programmes, in the hope that this will encourage people to use their education to improve agricultural production. However, it also depends on individual, family and societal attitudes towards agriculture, the availability of non-agricultural employment, and the relative returns from agricultural and non-agricultural employment.

This can again be illustrated by the project described in Box 3.3. In Muriwana, one reason why the project did not have a great deal of appeal was that many people, especially recent school-leavers, were not interested in agricultural work; they preferred to seek non-agricultural employment, either in the village itself or in the towns of Gondwana and Hilltop. In contrast, in Wiriwana there were fewer non-agricultural opportunities for school-leavers and the project was actually facilitated by the church's adult education programme, which -unlike the normal school curriculum - focused on agricultural production.

Example 4

The impact of cash cropping on poverty and inequality

The introduction or expansion of cash cropping in an area illustrates on a small scale many of the issues which arise at the national level in relation to structural adjustment programmes. Cash cropping is generally regarded as a 'good thing', since it is a means of increasing income, and thus of reducing poverty. However, its effects are not always so positive. In the first place, the benefits only accrue to those who are able to participate, either directly by growing cash crops or indirectly by being employed as wage labourers. Secondly, an increase in cash crop production may (as indicated in Example 2 above) result in a reduction in the resources available for food crop production, which (apart from any possible implications in terms of nutrition) may mean that most of the additional income earned is spent on food which would otherwise have been grown. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the benefits which do accrue are unlikely to be distributed equally among everyone in the area, since some people will inevitably be in a better position to benefit than others. For example, those who grow their own crops will benefit more than those who work as wage labourers, and those who own more land or have more capital or equipment will be able to grow more crops and so earn more money than those with limited resources. In other words, cash cropping is likely to increase the gap between the rich and the poor - unless a special effort is made to restrain the rich or help the poor, and that tends to be costly, in terms of lost production from the former and/or the costs of supporting the latter.

These problems are clearly demonstrated in the vegetable garden project. In the case of Muriwana, the benefits of the project were 'captured' initially by one group and, eventually, by one individual, a businessman who was already one of the wealthiest inhabitants of the village. And even in Wiriwana, where the project was in the end primarily for subsistence purposes and the benefits were relatively equally distributed, there were a few households who could not participate because they did not have the necessary resources.

Example 5

The impact of participation on agricultural innovation

This relationship has already been touched upon in section 3.2, in the context of the discussion of social development as a learning process, and it is also closely linked to the points made about the relationship between social structure and agricultural innovation earlier in this section. It was suggested in section 3.2 that the most effective way of ensuring that the 'human factor' (which includes social structure) is taken into account is to involve the people concerned in all stages of a project or programme, and it was pointed out that many of the problems encountered with the vegetable garden project in both Muriwana and Wiriwana could have been avoided if there had been more consultation in the planning stages. But, once again, there is another side to the story, in that participatory development is seldom quick, cheap or easy to manage. It requires a great deal of time and patience on the part of the planner or extension worker, and a willingness to treat farmers as equals and understand their way of seeing things. In this case, therefore, the choice or 'trade-off' which has to be made is between short run costs and long term benefits. A participatory approach increases the costs of the project (including the cost in terms of time and effort), but also increases the likelihood of its success in the long run.

Two main conclusions emerge from these five examples. The first is that the social and economic aspects of development are closely interrelated; hence the need for an integrated approach to planning at district - and other - levels. The second conclusion is that the relationship between the two can be positive or negative, depending on the peculiarities of each case. The main implication of this is the need for planners and others involved in rural area development to have a good understanding of the local situation.

3.4 The Politics of Social Development

Having looked in the last section at the relationship between economic development and social development, this section considers the role of politics in social development. The term 'politics' is used in a broad sense here to refer to anything related to the acquisition, exercise or distribution of power over resources by or between individuals, groups or organizations. It thus includes, for example: the politics of a local village community; the powers, functions and modes of operation of central and local governments, and of their constituent parts (eg. political parties, members of parliament, councillors, central and local government departments, individual officials); and international political relations.

Politics, when defined in this broad way, affects all aspects of life - and, therefore, all aspects of development. This section looks at three different (but related) dimensions of politics which are likely to be particularly important for those concerned with the social aspects of development in rural districts: the 'political economy' of rural development; the role of government in development; and ways of dealing with 'political interference'.

The political economy of rural development

One of the main concerns among those involved in the social aspects of rural development is the impact of politics on distributional issues - that is, who gains and who loses as a result of development efforts. There is a close relationship between political power and influence on the one hand and the level of economic and social wellbeing on the other. Moreover, the relationship is a circular one, in the sense that political power is a means of gaining access to economic and social benefits and these in turn enhance political status. Thus, the rich and powerful get richer and more powerful, while the poor find themselves trapped in a vicious circle of deprivation and powerlessness which drags them further and further down. This applies to rich and poor nations, to rich and poor regions within a nation, and to social groups and individuals within a region. The term 'political economy' is often used by social scientists to refer to this relationship between politics and (socio)economic development.

The example of the vegetable garden project in Gondwanaland (Box 3.3) illustrates the political economy of rural development at the local level. In Muriwana the storekeeper used his political and economic influence in the village to 'capture' the project for his own ends. And in Wiriwana the poorest families did not benefit from the project because they were both economically and politically weak, in that they lacked the financial resources needed to participate and they were headed by women and so lacked influence in the community.

Box 3.4 illustrates a similar situation at district level. It describes the problems faced by the minority Kurda people who inhabit the western part of Gondwanaland District. The Kurda are trapped in a vicious circle of poverty, isolation, powerlessness and neglect which has been going on for centuries. They are regarded as 'second class citizens' by the other ethnic groups in New Kolonia and they have very little political influence at district level and none at national level. Consequently, they have benefited very little from development efforts and so remain poor, physically isolated and deprived of basic services such as health and education.

BOX 3.4

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE HURDA

Historical background

The Hurda and a number of other small minority groups are ethnically and linguistically very different from the Gonds and Wana. They were the original inhabitants of much of New Kolonia but they were gradually driven by the Gonds and Wana into the most inhospitable areas in the central part of the country. There are now only about 50,000 Hurda left, most of whom live in the semi-arid area of western Gondwanaland and parts of the neighbouring two districts.

Current development status

There were about 24,000 Hurda in Gondwanaland at the time of the 1990 Census. There had been a significant decline in their numbers since 1980 (when the last census had been taken), due apparently to low fertility, high mortality and a small but significant migration out of the area, especially among young people.

They are a primarily nomadic, pastoral people, although shortage of grazing and government pressure has forced many of them to establish semi-permanent settlements and grow a few crops. Their standard of living is much lower than the district average (compare Box 3.2). For example, the infant mortality rate in 1990 was 110 (compared with an average of 68), it is estimated that 25-30% of children are chronically malnourished (average 9%), the adult literacy rate is 25% for males and 17% for females (average 62% and 53% respectively), cash income is negligible, and assets such as vehicles, bicycles, ploughs and radios are virtually non-existent. Their only wealth is livestock, which are sold to meet basic cash needs. The average household has about 50 livestock units. Their access to social services is

..//..

Box 3.4 (cont.)

also well below the district average. For example, there are only two primary schools in the area, which are attended by only 40% of the boys and 33% of the girls (compared to an average of 89% and 78% respectively) and there is no secondary school. There is only one clinic and very few improved water supplies.

The problem of development

There is much debate in New Kolonia about the reasons for the lack of development among the Kurda. There are two main schools of thought. One argues that the Kurda are bound by tradition and resist any attempt at development from outside. The other suggests that the main problem is that the Kurda have no effective political representation and are discriminated against by other ethnic groups, who regard them as inferior. There is probably some truth in both arguments, but recent experience suggests that the second reason is probably the most important. The Hurda are trapped in a vicious circle of powerlessness, vulnerability, poverty and isolation.

There are only three Hurda councillors out of a total of 44 and, since they are illiterate and speak a different language, they play little if any part in Council meetings. And they have no representation at national level because they are only a small part of the Gondwanaland West electorate, which is dominated by the Wana. Moreover, most attempts by central government or Council staff, and by non-government organizations (NGOs), to channel resources to the Hurda are blocked by local or national politicians who want to capture the resources for their areas.

One example of this was a proposal made in 1988 by a foreign-based NGO called World Development International to establish an integrated rural development project in Zone V. When the project was discussed in the District Council, both the Gond and Wana factions in the Council, supported by their respective members of parliament, campaigned to have it in their own areas instead of Zone V. Moreover, the project was also opposed by another NGO, a religious organization called Save the People, which had been operating - albeit with very little success in terms of either religious conversions or sustained development activities - among the Hurda for several years. The end result was that World Development International established the project in another district, in an area with similar problems of drought and poverty but peopled by Gonds and represented by an influential MP.

The challenge to those concerned with rural social development in such situations is to find ways of breaking the vicious circle of poverty and powerlessness. This is not easy, because it means counteracting basic political forces, over which the rural development planner usually has little or no control. Possible ways of tackling this problem are considered in chapter 8, which is concerned specifically with planning for the disadvantaged.

The role of government in development

In the 1960s and early 1970s, when many 'less developed' countries had recently gained political independence, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the role of government in development. It was widely assumed that these newly independent governments would be both able and willing to promote development, and to ensure that such development was reasonably equally distributed. This assumption was used (as in the 'socialist' countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe) to justify the establishment of one party rule, the adoption of a centralized national planning system, and the nationalization of a large part of the productive sector.

However, as time went on, experience began to suggest that this assumption must be questioned. It became increasingly evident that most, if not all, governments lacked the financial resources, the management capacity and - particularly important in this context - the 'political will' to fulfill such a role effectively. The term 'political will' needs some explanation here, since it is a commonly used but rather misleading expression. It is misleading because it gives the impression that governments are homogeneous entities which consciously decide whether or not to adopt policies which would benefit the majority of the population rather than themselves; a government which decides not to adopt such policies is one which lacks the necessary political will. In reality, however, most governments operate very differently. They are composed of many different individuals and interest groups, each with its own priorities and interests and with varying degrees of influence in the process of decision-making. Most policy decisions are, therefore, the outcome of these various and often conflicting interests rather than conscious or unanimous decisions, and 'lack of political will' to adopt a particular policy means that the policy does not have the support of the majority (or the most powerful) of those involved in the decision-making process.

This realization of the limitations of government has resulted in widespread moves, promoted in particular by organizations such as the IMF and World Bank, to reduce the role of governments in general, and central governments in particular. Since the mid-1980s there has, therefore, been a great deal of pressure on governments to hand over many of their responsibilities to local governments, non-government organizations (NGOs), people's organizations and, in particular, the private sector.

There are many advantages of such a move, since there are many reasons why it is undesirable for central governments to have a monopoly over power. However, it is important to remember that this will not 'de-politicize' the development process; it will merely change the relative importance of the various political actors and political channels. This is because the various organizations to whom responsibilities are being given are also political entities, albeit of a different sort. Thus, for example, local governments are in many respects miniature versions of central governments, while NGOs are seldom as apolitical or altruistic as their image suggests. This is well illustrated by the case of the Kurda people, described in Box 3.4. They have been neglected by the district council as well as by the central government and NGO development efforts in the area have been hampered by conflicts between competing NGOs and between NGOs and government. Similarly, community-based organizations are fraught with local political struggles - as the case of Muriwana village illustrates. And it is well known that unrestricted private sector development tends to increase rather than decrease the gap between rich and poor; in fact, one of the main justifications for government involvement in development in the first place was to curb this tendency.

From the social development point of view, it is therefore important not only to consider the relative importance of government in the development process but also to understand the overall political situation in any particular case. The most important questions to ask are who will gain and who will lose as a result of this political situation and, in particular, what effect will it have on the most disadvantaged sectors of the population?

Dealing with political interference

There is a tendency among civil servants and other development workers, and especially among planners, to regard 'politics' as an unnecessary and undesirable element which upsets their work and, in particular, makes it very difficult for them to utilize their professional or technical skills effectively. The term 'political interference' is frequently used to refer to such disruption. It is easy to understand why this view is so common. However, there are two major problems associated with it.

Firstly, the people who hold this view tend to use the word 'politics' in a much narrower sense than that adopted here, in most cases to refer only to the activities of national and local politicians. In so doing, they forget that the politicians are no more than the 'tip of the iceberg'. That is to say, they are merely the most obvious manifestation of the constant struggle for control over resources which goes on between all individuals, groups and organizations. They tend in particular to ignore the power struggles that exist within and between both government and non-government development

agencies, and to forget that they themselves are not just disinterested professionals or technicians, but individuals with personal interests and ambitions. In other words, they themselves, and the organizations for which they work, are part of the 'problem' of 'politics'.

Secondly, this view implies that politics is something which can, and should, be eliminated. Those holding such a view tend to either ignore or resist the political implications of their work, insisting that their task is to do a 'proper' professional or technical job, not to mess around with, or pander to, political interests. Consequently, they are frequently disappointed and frustrated, and their efforts are often wasted, because their plans are upset by the 'political interference' of which they are so critical.

It would be much better if these development workers were to recognize that politics is an inevitable component of all development activities. If, instead of resisting or ignoring politics, they tried to incorporate political issues and interests into their plans, they would be less likely to be disappointed and their plans would stand a much better chance of implementation. This does not mean that they should go to the other extreme and ignore all professional or technical considerations, merely that they should take account of political factors, along with all the other things which have to be considered, and adapt their plans accordingly. The implications of this for district planning will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

SUMMARY

- The 'social characteristics' of rural areas include their demographic structure, ethnolinguistic characteristics, social structure, inheritance systems, religious and cultural beliefs and practices, and individual and group attitudes.
 - It is very difficult to generalize about the social characteristics of rural areas because each area is unique. However, there are some common characteristics, notably: (i) the 'integrated' nature of rural society; (ii) the importance of the natural resource base; (iii) the mixture of cohesion and division within society; (iv) the mixture of inward- and outward-looking tendencies; and (v) the mixture of continuity and change.
 - The term 'social development' is used here to mean a positive change in 'social conditions'.
 - 'Social indicators' are used to measure the degree or level of social development. However, it is not easy to measure social development accurately or comprehensively.
 - Social development should be seen not as a mechanistic process but as an ongoing process of social learning in which development workers and beneficiaries are equal partners.
 - The social and economic aspects of development are closely and complexly related; hence the need for an integrated approach to planning at district - and other - levels.
 - There is much debate about the relationship between social and economic development, not least in the context of structural adjustment programmes. In reality, the relationship can be positive or negative, depending on the aspects of social and economic development concerned and the level of analysis; hence the need to look at each case individually.
 - Politics, when defined broadly to include all kinds of power relations, affects all aspects of life, and therefore all kinds of development activity.
 - There is a close relationship between political power and socioeconomic wellbeing; hence the tendency for the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

- Cernea, M. (ed), Putting People First, New York, Oxford University Press, for World Bank, 1985. Explains why it is necessary to consider the 'social' or 'human' aspects of development and suggests ways of doing so, including case studies from the fields of irrigation, agricultural settlement, livestock, fisheries, forestry, and rural roads.
- Chambers, R., Rural Development: Putting the Last First, Harlow, Longman, 1983. Argues the case for seeing rural development from the point of view of rural people (and especially the rural poor) rather than that of professionals, including the need for a 'learning process' approach. Simply and persuasively written, with many examples.
- Clay, E.J. & B.B. Schaffer (eds), Room for Manoeuvre: an Exploration of Public Policy in Agriculture and Rural Development, London, Heinemann, 1984. Uses case studies to illustrate ways of incorporating political factors into agricultural policies and projects, by seeking and utilising the 'room for manoeuvre'.
- Cornia, A., R. Jolly & F. Stewart (eds), Adjustment with a Human Face, Oxford, Clarendon Press, for UNICEF, 1987. Reviews the social impact of structural adjustment programmes from 1980 to 1986, focusing in particular on the impact on children. Concludes that they have had negative effects but that these could be avoided if certain changes were made in adjustment policies.
- FAO, Structural Adjustment Programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa, Training Materials for Agricultural Planning no. 15, Rome, 1989. Review of the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the agriculture sector and implications for agricultural policy. Emphasizes the complexity of the relationship between structural adjustment and agriculture and thus the need for detailed analysis.
- FAO, Guidelines for Monitoring the Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on the Agricultural Sector, FAO Economic and Social Development Paper 95, Rome, 1990. Outlines the main characteristics of structural adjustment programmes, explains the most likely ways in which they will affect the agriculture sector, and suggests methods of monitoring these effects. Also emphasizes the complexity of the relationship and thus the problems of monitoring.
- FAO, Agricultural Price Policy: Government and the Market, Training Materials for Agricultural Planning no 31, Rome, 1992. Provides a general presentation on the functioning of markets and government

institutions in view of the analysis of agricultural policies. Publication to be used as supporting text in price policy courses.

Hilhorst, J. & M. Klatter (eds), Social Development in the Third World, London, Croom Helm, 1985. Useful collection of material on social indicators, including an introductory overview and bibliography. Also two chapters (7,9) on the relationship between social and economic development.

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), The State of World Rural Poverty: An Inquiry into its Causes and Consequences, New York, University Press, 1992. A study covering 114 countries. It demonstrates that the rural poor, as small-scale producers, make a major contribution to the production and accumulation of capital in developing countries. It indicates the means by which their further growth potential can be realised.

World Bank (with African Development Bank & UNDP), The Social Dimensions of Adjustment in Africa: A Policy Agenda, Washington DC, 1990. Outlines the need for, and main components of, the Bank's policies to ameliorate the undesirable social effects of adjustment programmes.

World Bank, Poverty, World Development Report 1990, New York, Oxford University Press, for World Bank, 1990. Reviews the incidence and causes of poverty in the world and strategies for poverty reduction. Includes statistical indicators of poverty and the Bank's usual annual summary of World Development Indicators.

World Bank, Poverty Reduction Handbook, Washington DC, 1992. Operational Directive on the need to give more attention to poverty issues in Bank policies and programmes, together with detailed guidelines on how to do so. Intended primarily for Bank staff.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF RURAL AREA PLANNING

- 4.1 The concept of social planning
- 4.2 The role of social planning at area level
- 4.3 Methods of social analysis for area planning
- 4.4 Problems of social planning at area level

This chapter begins by looking briefly at the origins and history of 'social planning' as a distinct kind of planning activity. It then looks in more detail at the social aspects of planning in rural areas, including the relationship between social planning and other types of planning at this level, the specific activities included under the heading of 'social planning', and the problems likely to be encountered.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF RURAL AREA PLANNING

4.1 The Concept of Social Planning

Chapter 3 (section 3.3) described how it was gradually realized in the 1960s that one must consider the social as well as the economic aspects of development. This realization led to efforts to improve the social aspects of development planning - and to the emergence of a special type or branch of planning activity known as 'social planning'. The existence of social planning is reflected in various ways. For example, many national planning agencies have a separate section responsible for 'social planning', inter-disciplinary planning teams frequently include a 'social planner', and the terms of reference for project feasibility studies usually include an assessment of the 'social impact' of the project. Similarly, it is possible to take courses in 'social planning' and there are various books and articles on the subject.

However, although 'social planning' is widely recognized as a specific kind of planning, the term is used in various different ways and may cover a fairly wide range of activities. This is hardly surprising since, as indicated in previous chapters, the terms 'social' and 'social development' are themselves vague. The term 'social planning' may be used to cover any or all of the following activities:

- planning social services (eg. health, education, housing, social welfare);
- planning specifically to improve the general quality of life of the population, or of a particular sector of the population;
- assessing the way in which the social characteristics of the people concerned are likely to affect the implementation of a particular policy, programme or project;
- assessing the likely future and/or actual impact of a policy, programme or project on social conditions;
- planning to improve the position of disadvantaged groups of people (eg. the poor, women, children, the disabled, a disadvantaged region of the country); and

- participatory planning - that is, planning in a way which involves the people who will be affected by whatever is being planned.

The amount of attention given to social planning in any particular planning situation varies considerably, depending on a number of factors, including the relative importance of social objectives in whatever is being planned, the amount of 'trade-off' between social and other (eg. economic) objectives, the extent to which those involved in the planning are aware of the possible social implications, and the resources available (including finance, skilled manpower and time) to undertake the necessary social analysis. This can be demonstrated by looking at the role of social planning in two different types of planning situation, one in which the main objectives are social and the other where social objectives are only of secondary importance.

Example 1

Planning social services

In this kind of planning the main objectives are social, so social factors obviously play a major role. However, even in this case, there are other factors which have to be taken into consideration. For example, the provision of social services costs money, so it is necessary to assess the financial or economic costs and benefits of doing so, as well as the social benefits. There are also political implications involved, in that one of the easiest ways for both governments and individual politicians to gain or maintain the support of their electorate is to improve access to social services. Therefore, although social factors may predominate, an integrated approach to planning is needed.

An obvious example of this is the impact of structural adjustment programmes on social service planning. Since one of the main objectives of such programmes is to reduce public expenditure, they inevitably involve attempts to reduce expenditure on social services. This may be done by introducing (or increasing) charges for services, privatizing some aspects of service provision, and/or reducing the quantity or quality of the services provided. However, since any such move is likely to have undesirable social effects (especially for the poorer sections of the population) and political repercussions, it is necessary for the planners to reach some agreement on the degree of 'trade-off' which is feasible in the circumstances. This is often one of the most sensitive areas in negotiations between donor agencies and recipient governments on the content of a structural adjustment 'package'.

Example 2

Planning an agricultural project

The objectives of most agricultural projects are primarily economic in nature, in that the aim is usually to increase agricultural production, in order to increase the income of the individual farmer and/or the nation. In such cases, there are two main roles for social planning. One is to identify the possible social costs and benefits of the project.

The social benefits are likely to be fairly obvious to any planner, in that it is easy to see that the income generated by the project can be used to improve social conditions at the individual and/or national level. But the social costs tend to be less obvious. For example, there may be an increase in inequality if the project benefits a few people only, or a decline in nutritional standards if it results in labour being diverted from food crops to cash crops. It often requires someone with a particular 'feel' for social issues to recognise such dangers.

The other role of social planning is to identify social factors which might affect the success of the project - for example, characteristics of the local social structure or particular customs or attitudes of the people. This also requires someone who is aware of the kind of factors likely to be important, and it often requires additional time and financial resources to obtain the necessary information.

The example of the vegetable garden project in Gondwanaland, described in Chapter 3 (Box 3.3), illustrates the role of social planning in such situations. In this case, many of the problems which the project encountered in both villages could have been avoided - or at least anticipated - if those involved in planning the project had been aware of the possible social implications and had undertaken the necessary social analysis.

It is obvious from these two examples that, although social planning is important, it cannot be considered in isolation from other types of planning activity. The relative importance attached to the social aspects of planning - and to the various other dimensions - may vary, but in any planning situation an integrated approach is needed. In other words, all relevant factors (social, economic, environmental, political, etc.) must be taken into consideration and the inter-relationships between them must be understood.

4.2 The Role of Social Planning at Area Level

Although there is a need for social planning at all levels, it is particularly important at area (or district) level. There are three main reasons for this.

Firstly, as indicated in Chapter 3 (section 3.1), social characteristics vary greatly from one area to another, and even from one community to another. Social planning therefore requires a detailed knowledge of the areas or communities which will be affected by the plan and this knowledge is usually difficult to get at higher levels. The district is often an appropriate level to obtain such information and incorporate it into the detailed project or programme design, because staff at district level generally have a reasonably good knowledge of local conditions and, if the information needed is not immediately available, they can usually find ways of obtaining it relatively easily.

Secondly, this is the level at which most projects and programmes are implemented, and therefore the level at which implementation problems are first noticed. It is therefore in the interests of those at district level to ensure that the various social factors which may affect the success of the project are taken into consideration at the planning stage, in order to avoid as many problems as possible.

Thirdly, social planning frequently involves - and is sometimes more or less synonymous with - participatory planning, in that one of the most effective ways of obtaining information on social issues is to involve the people concerned in the planning process. And the district is an appropriate level at which to initiate a participatory approach to planning, because (as indicated in Chapter 1) it is the level where there is most likely to be some sort of representative local government and where the activities of extension workers (who have direct contact with the people) are coordinated.

However, it is not always easy to introduce social planning at area or district level, because the planning process as a whole is seldom well developed at this level. In some cases this is because most decisions are made at higher levels (more often than not at the national level), so there is little scope for effective planning at district level. People at district level often see the need for social planning because they have to implement plans which have not given adequate attention to social factors, but they can do little about it because they are not the ones responsible for planning. In other cases the main problem is lack of resources for planning in general, and social planning in particular. Ideally a district should have its own multi-disciplinary planning team, which would include a social planner, and a budgetary allocation specifically for planning purposes. In reality, however, many countries have no full-time planning staff at district level and no or very limited district planning budget. Where district planners do exist, their knowledge of planning skills is often fairly rudimentary and, since there is usually only one

planner per district, they are responsible for all aspects of planning and so the social dimension is easily neglected.

It is, therefore, necessary to adopt a pragmatic approach to social planning at district level. The basic elements of such an approach are as follows:

- Social planning should not be regarded as a separate planning activity but as an integral part of a general district planning system; the aim should simply be to ensure that all plans take account of relevant social factors.
- In cases where plans are prepared primarily or entirely outside the district, people at district level should try to inform the planners about relevant social conditions or problems and warn them about the implications of ignoring these in the planning stage.
- All those involved directly or indirectly in planning at district level should be made aware of the importance of the social aspects of planning; this can be done by introducing a social dimension to general courses on planning for district personnel.
- Use should be made of anyone in the district who has special knowledge of social issues, including professionals trained in social development (eg. social welfare and community development staff), extension staff who are in daily contact with the people, locally elected representatives (eg. councillors), and (where relevant) NGO personnel.
- The people themselves should be seen as the main resource for obtaining information about local social conditions and ensuring that plans are relevant and appropriate to local needs; in other words, a participatory approach to planning will go a long way in ensuring that social factors are taken into consideration.

Box 4.1 describes how district staff in Gondwanaland recognised the need for social planning, partly as a result of the problems encountered with the vegetable garden project described in Chapter 3, and the steps they took to introduce a social dimension into the district planning system.

BOX 4.1

**THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIAL PLANNING IN
GONDWANALAND**

The District Agricultural Officer (DAO) of Gondwanaland was concerned about the problems experienced with the vegetable garden project in Zone III (see Box 3.3). He had learned that it is not possible to impose a 'model' project on to a community without any form of modification or adaptation. The details of each project must be designed to 'fit' the particular needs and conditions of the community where it will be implemented. Since this was not the first time that such problems had occurred with agricultural projects in the district, especially those run on a cooperative basis, he decided to do something about it.

The DAO discussed his concerns with the District Cooperatives Officer (DCO), who admitted that he was facing similar problems in trying to establish other kinds of cooperatives in the district. They decided to raise the matter at the next meeting of the District Development Committee (DDC). A lively debate resulted, since many DDC members had experienced such problems in implementing projects supported by the Rural Development Fund (RDF). The District Community Development and Social Welfare Officer (DCDSWO) made a major contribution to the debate. She explained the need to see development projects from the people's point of view and told members about some successful community-based projects which her ministry had helped to establish.

The following decisions were therefore made at the meeting:

- *A Social Development Sub-Committee of the DDC would be established, consisting of the DCDSWO (as chairperson), the DAO, the DCO and representatives from the District Secretary's Office and the Gondwanaland District Council. The role of the sub-committee would be to ensure that the social aspects of all prospective RDF projects were considered before they were forwarded to the DDC for approval and to advise individual ministries on social development issues.*

../-

Box 4.1 (cont.)

- *The Social Development Sub-Committee should draw up a checklist of questions about social issues which would form the basis for assessing the social aspects of RDF projects. All applications for RDF funding must include, in addition to the information already required, answers to this checklist of questions.*
- *No RDF project would be approved without adequate consultation with councillors and Village Development Committees. Evidence of such consultation should be included in the project applications.*

By making these decisions, the DDC had in effect established a simple system of social planning in the District.

4.3 Methods of Social Analysis for Area Planning

It is obvious from section 4.2 that social planning involves a wide range of activities. Since all of these have a role to play at area or district level, it is necessary for those involved in planning at this level to have some knowledge of the various analytical methods required to undertake any or all of these types of social planning activity. These various analytical methods may collectively be referred to as **methods of social analysis**.

There are many different ways of classifying methods of social analysis. However, for the purposes of these Guidelines they may be divided into five main types:

1. **methods of obtaining information** about the social characteristics of rural societies, which is needed for various planning purposes;
2. **methods of planning** to achieve specific social objectives, such as the provision of social services or improvement in some aspect of the quality of life;
3. **methods of assessing the social costs and benefits** of specific projects or programmes, which may be used as part of a feasibility study in the planning stage or to

evaluate the impact of the project or programme after implementation has taken place;

4. **methods of planning to meet the needs of disadvantaged groups** within an area (such as the poor, the landless, women, children or the disabled), which is a very specific form of social objective which warrants attention separate from (2) above; and
5. **methods of planning in a participatory way**, which has implications for the other four categories but again warrants special attention.

The five chapters in Part III of these Guidelines are devoted to each of these five methodological types.

4.4 Problems of Social Planning at Area Level

In conclusion, brief mention should be made of some of the problems likely to be encountered in social planning at area or district level. This is not intended to discourage those involved, merely to warn them of some of the pitfalls which they will almost inevitably have to face. Most of these problems have already been mentioned in this chapter or in Chapter 3, but it is nevertheless useful to list them all together at this point.

Centralization

As indicated in section 4.2, the scope for planning in general at area or district level is limited by the extent to which the power to make decisions about rural development in the area is decentralized to this level. If all significant decisions, including policy decisions and those regarding the allocation of the resources needed to implement the policies, are made at a higher level, there is no point in embarking upon ambitious planning activities because this will merely lead to frustration when the plans are not implemented. In such cases, planning must be confined to, on the one hand, trying to influence the decisions which are made at a higher level, and on the other hand, planning the detailed implementation of these decisions when they have been made. In other words, planners at district level should focus their attention on issues or activities where they have some chance of having an effect, rather than waste their efforts on producing 'pipe-dream' plans which no-one will take seriously. And this applies to social planning as much as to any other kind of planning activity.

Trade-offs between economic and social development

The complex relationship between economic and social development was discussed in some depth in Chapter 3 (section 3.3). It should be apparent from this discussion that, although economic and social objectives are often complementary, this is not always the case, and so it is sometimes necessary to make choices or 'trade-offs' between them. This is one of the main problems facing social planners at any level. Despite the fact that the importance of social planning is now widely recognized, it is not easy to convince decision-makers to give higher priority to social objectives than economic objectives, especially in situations where financial resources are scarce and there is an urgent need to increase economic production. For example, it is difficult in such circumstances to argue the case for allocating resources to social services rather than to directly productive activities, or for foregoing a project which would result in substantial economic gains because it would have undesirable social effects.

The politics of social planning

Chapter 3 also emphasized (in section 3.4) the role of politics in social development. Planning is inevitably a political process, in that all those involved - whether they be planners, decision-makers, implementers or beneficiaries - have interests in the outcome of the plan and will try to influence the planning process in order to further these interests. In many cases, these interests may be concerned purely with personal gain, resulting in the risk of plans being 'highjacked' by individuals or groups who were not intended to benefit from them. In other cases, the interests may be less directly or obviously related to personal gain. For example, those involved may be concerned to promote the role of their particular organization (such as a government department or NGO) or merely their particular 'philosophy' of development. But whatever the case, the social planner will inevitably find that there are other individuals or groups of people whose views about what is being planned differ from his (or her) own (and from each other's) and that the outcome will depend on the relative influence which each is able to exert in the decision-making process. As indicated in section 3.4, it is recommended that planners accept this fact and plan accordingly, rather than pretend that planning can or should be apolitical.

Problems of participatory planning

The need for a participatory approach to social planning has already been stressed on several occasions. However, it is not easy to plan in a participatory way. Participatory planning means that decisions are made by the planners and the beneficiaries together, through a process of dialogue in which all those involved express their needs and views. This almost inevitably

requires more time and resources than a more authoritarian or 'top-down' approach, and it requires planners or extension workers with special skills and attitudes. Moreover, sometimes agreement cannot be reached and so the plan cannot go ahead. In many cases, therefore, planners know that they should adopt a participatory approach but fail to do so because of lack of time, resources or aptitude, or because of pressure from politicians, central government officials or donors who want a decision quickly. In such cases, the short-run benefits in terms of savings in time and resources are likely to be outweighed in the long run by the problems of trying to implement a project which does not have the support or understanding of the beneficiaries. But it is only too easy to ignore or forget that risk at the planning stage.

Resource constraints

Lack of resources for district planning in general, and social planning in particular, has already been mentioned as a problem in section 4.2 - and by implication in the discussion on participatory planning under 4. above. Since few if any districts have the luxury of a full-time, qualified social planner, the social aspects of planning must be undertaken either by a generalist planner or by someone who has some knowledge of the relevant social issues but is not a professional planner. This has two major implications: planning methods must be kept as simple as possible and (as suggested in section 4.2) all those likely to be involved should be given some elementary training in social planning.

Data constraints

Inadequate data is always a problem in planning; the data one needs is seldom already available, at least in the form required, and there is never enough time, money or manpower to collect it all oneself. However, as indicated in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), both district planning and social planning are likely to encounter particularly serious data problems. In the case of district planning, the main problem is that the data needed is often available but not in a form suitable for use at district level because it has been collected for national planning purposes. And in the case of social planning, the problem is that much of the data is qualitative rather than quantitative in nature and thus difficult both to collect and to analyze in a manner which enables definitive conclusions to be drawn and comparisons (especially with economic data) to be made.

All these problems are taken into account in Part III of the Guidelines, which looks at specific methods of social analysis. For example, priority is given to simple methods, which do not require excessive amounts of time or resources and can be practised by people with no professional social planning training. And where problems are likely to occur (for example, when choosing between

economic and social objectives or adopting a participatory planning approach) ways of tackling them or minimizing their effects are suggested. In other words, the approach adopted is pragmatic rather than idealistic, in line with the recommendation made in section 4.2.

SUMMARY

- Social planning is now recognized as a particular type of planning, the aim of which is to ensure that the social aspects of development receive adequate attention in planning. It incorporates a number of different but related activities, including: planning social services; planning to improve the general quality of life; assessing the way in which social factors will affect the implementation of a proposed policy, programme or project; assessing the potential or actual social impact of a policy, programme or project; planning to improve the status of disadvantaged sectors of the population; and participatory planning.
 - Social planning is particularly important at area or district level, because this is the level at which: (i) detailed information about local variations in social characteristics can be obtained; (ii) implementation takes place and so the consequences of ignoring social factors are felt; and (iii) participatory planning can most effectively be initiated.
 - However, it is not easy to introduce social planning at district level because the scope for planning in general is limited at this level, due to inadequate decentralization of decision-making and insufficient resources for planning. A pragmatic approach, which incorporates social issues into the general planning system and utilizes existing resources, is thus required.
 - The analytical methods required for social planning may be called methods of social analysis. For the purposes of these Guidelines, they are divided into five main categories, corresponding to the five chapters which constitute Part III.
 - The main problems of social planning at district level are: centralization; the need to make trade-offs between economic and social objectives; the politics of social planning; problems of participatory planning; resource constraints; and data constraints.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

Apthorpe, R. (ed), People, Planning and Development Studies, London, Frank Cass, 1970. Collection of essays and case studies on the need for, and role of, social planning, written at the time that the importance of social issues was first recognized.

Blair, H. & D. Conyers (eds), 'Local social development planning', Regional Development Dialogue (Journal of the United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan), vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1986. Collection of papers presented at a workshop on the role and methods of social planning at local level, as part of a wider programme of research and training on local social development planning; includes four methodological chapters, four country case studies and a comparative study.

Conyers, D., An Introduction to Social Planning in the Third World, Chichester, Wiley, 1982. Reviews the origins, history and scope of social planning and provides an introduction to its organization and methods.

Midgley, J. & D. Piachaud (eds), The Fields and Methods of Social Planning, London, Heinemann, 1984. Collection of essays on the various dimensions of social planning, the role of the social planner and social planning methods; not specifically related to developing countries.

United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Local Social Development Planning: Training Modules, Nagoya, Japan, 1988, 2 volumes. Comprehensive guidelines on methods of social planning at local (ie. community) level; covers most of the topics in these Guidelines, but focusing on the local rather than district level. Intended for trainers; but consists of guidelines rather than a detailed manual and thus also of more general value.

PART III.

**METHODS OF SOCIAL
ANALYSIS**

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTING AND USING SOCIAL DATA

- 5.1 The need for data
- 5.2 Identifying data needs
- 5.3 The collection and use of secondary data
- 5.4 The collection and use of primary data

This chapter is concerned with the collection and use of data for social planning purposes. The first two sections look at why data is needed and how to identify the kind of data needed for a particular planning purpose. The last two sections then examine methods of collecting and using the two main types of data: primary and secondary.

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTING AND USING SOCIAL DATA

5.1 The Need for Data

Data is a basic requirement for any form of planning, since planning involves making calculated decisions and such decisions must be based on adequate and appropriate information, or 'data'. Data is needed at all stages of the planning process, including the initial identification of a problem or objective, the identification and appraisal of alternative policies, programmes or projects, monitoring the implementation process, and finally the evaluation of the impact of the plan.

Social planning is no exception in this respect. However, both the type of data needed and the problems involved in collecting and using it vary from one type of planning to another. This chapter is therefore concerned with what might be called 'social' data -in other words, the sort of data needed specifically for the social aspects of planning -and in particular with the kind of social data needed for rural area planning.

5.2 Identifying Data Needs

One of the most fundamental but difficult tasks in any form of planning is to decide what data to collect. If this is not done before data collection starts, a great deal of time is wasted collecting data which is never used, and some essential data is inevitably ignored. This section looks briefly at a number of questions regarding the quantity, quality, type, form and source of data which it is necessary to ask before starting to collect data.

How much data ?

The first step in determining how much data to collect is to consider exactly what data one needs in order to achieve the particular objective of the planning exercise. In other words, one should not just go out and collect all the data which may be vaguely relevant. However, it is never possible to obtain as much data as one would ideally like, especially at district level, where the resources for collecting and analyzing data are generally severely limited. It is therefore necessary to reconcile the amount of data one would like to have with what it is actually practical to obtain. The aim should be to

collect the minimum amount of information needed to achieve the particular objective. And if there is any serious gap in information, one should be aware of any limitations this may have in terms of the accuracy or comprehensiveness of the decisions made.

This is particularly important in the case of social data, some of which is very difficult to collect quickly and cheaply. For example, one must have information on the social structure of a village in order to plan an agricultural project for the village. The implications of not doing so were demonstrated by the example of the vegetable garden project in Gondwanaland, described in Box 3.3. However, this does not mean that one needs to know everything there is about the village. Moreover, there are several different ways of obtaining the information required, some of which require more resources than others. This point will be discussed later.

What subject matter should be included ?

Social data for rural area planning includes data on any aspect of the area defined as 'social' in Chapter 1. It thus includes information on the various 'social characteristics' of the area (eg. demography, ethno-linguistic characteristics, social structure, inheritance systems, religious and cultural beliefs and practices, and individual or group attitudes), the general quality of life, the quantity and quality of social services, and social justice.

However, in order to determine what kind of data should be obtained for any particular planning exercise, it is again necessary to consider the objective of the exercise. In some cases there is a need for an overview of all social aspects, as for example when one wishes to assess the general level of social development in the area. Box 3.2, which provides a list of 'social indicators' for Gondwanaland District, illustrates the kind of subject matter which might be included in such a case. Since this example will be used to illustrate various points in this chapter, it has been reproduced here as Box 5.1. However, in many cases there is a more specific need for data on selected social characteristics or issues relevant to the particular planning exercise.

Quantitative or qualitative data ?

Quantitative data is data which can be expressed in numerical form, while qualitative data is expressed in the form of verbal descriptions rather than numbers. In Box 5.1, for example, all the data on quality of life and social services is quantitative while that on social justice is a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data.

BOX 5.1

GONDWANALAND DISTRICT: SOME SOCIAL INDICATORS

Quality of life

Infant mortality (per 1000 live births) 1990: 68

Average proportion of children under 5 years attending clinics who were malnourished in 1992: 9%

Adult literacy 1990: male: 62%; female: 53%

Average land cultivated per household 1991: 1.9 hectares

Average number of livestock units owned per household 1991: 9

Average annual agricultural income per household 1991: NK\$560

Proportion of households owning 1990:

motor vehicle: 9% plough: 57%

bicycle: 28% radio: 25%

Social services

Proportion of primary school age children at school 1992:

male: 89% female: 78%

Proportion of 1991 primary school leavers going on to secondary school:

male: 48%; female: 35%

Proportion of population within 5 kms. of primary school 1992: 85%

Proportion of population within 10 kms. of secondary school 1992: 78%

Average class size 1992: primary: 38; secondary: 34

Proportion of population within 10 kms. of clinic 1992: 82%

Proportion of population served by mobile MCH clinic 1992: 73%

Population per doctor 1992: approx. 111,000

Population per hospital bed 1992: 1485

Proportion of households with water supply 1990:

inside house: 6% less than 100 metres: 24%

101-1000 metres: 38% over 1000 metres: 32%

Proportion of households with toilets 1990:

flush: 5%; pit: 57%; none: 38%

--/--

Box 5.1 (cont.)

Social justice

Inequality between areas: Some of the indicators of quality of life and access to social services listed above are available only for the district as a whole. However, where a breakdown does exist, it suggests significant variations in some indicators. The most noticeable observation is that the standard of living in Zone V is far lower than that elsewhere (see Box 3.4 for details).

Inequality between households within areas: There is very little available statistical information. However, data from the 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey suggests the following variations:

(a) average area cultivated per household:

hectares	nil	0.1-1.0	1.1-2.0	2.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	5+
% h'holds	5	29	33	19	9	5

(b) average number of livestock units per household:

livestock units	nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+
% h'holds	12	24	26	19	13	6

(c) average annual agricultural income per household:

income \$	0-100	101-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1000+
% h'holds	8	16	32	24	12	8

Informal observations by agricultural extension workers suggest that these figures are probably fairly representative of the district as a whole, excluding Zone V.

Gender relations: There is a traditional division of labour between men and women in relation to agricultural and other activities. This tends to discriminate against women (and girls), in that they have fewer opportunities to engage in income earning activities, do most of the household work, are less likely to be involved in decision-making (especially outside the family) and (as the above statistics indicate) are likely to be less educated. However, practices vary considerably from one part of the district to another and from one household to another.

-/-

Box 5.1 (cont.)

Participation in 'development': 76% of the eligible population voted in the 1990 general election and 53% in the 1991 District Council elections. The Council tends to be dominated by a small number of councillors and is divided along Party lines. There is only one woman councillor. Each village is required to have a village development committee (VDC) but in many villages the VDC conflicts with traditional leadership structures and in some it is little more than a vehicle for party politics. The Kurda people in Zone V have little or no influence on decision-making in the district (see Box 3.4 for details).

Sources of data

*Reports of 1990 National Population Census
Report of 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey
District records of Ministries of Education and Health
Reports of agricultural extension staff
General knowledge/observation*

It is sometimes assumed that social data is more likely to be qualitative in form than other kinds of data, particularly economic data. There is some truth in this assumption, in that social data is more likely to include information which is best expressed in qualitative rather than quantitative form. However, in most cases, the best way to present a clear picture of an issue or situation, whether it be economic or social, is through a combination of quantitative and qualitative data.

However, this does not mean that the two kinds of data are interchangeable, since each has its advantages and disadvantages. When choosing whether to collect quantitative or qualitative data, there are four main factors which need to be considered:

- **The purpose for which the data is required:** Quantitative data is necessary if one requires a high degree of precision or wants to perform statistical analyses, while qualitative data is useful for providing a detailed or vivid impression of the issue or characteristic concerned.

- **The subject matter:** Some kinds of subject matter (eg. demographic data, information on income or household property and assets, data on availability and use of social services) are relatively easily presented in numerical form, while others (eg. information on religious or customary beliefs and practices, the role of women, and attitudes to actual or proposed development activities) tend to be more appropriately presented in qualitative form.
- **The method of data collection:** The collection of quantitative data is based on statistically designed survey procedures, while the collection of qualitative data relies primarily on detailed observation or interview.
- **The method of data presentation:** Qualitative data can often be 'translated' into a quantitative form if it can be 'scaled' in some way (compare the section on measuring social development in Chapter 3); for example, information on attitudes can be grouped into categories (eg. 'high', 'medium', 'low'; 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neutral', 'disagree', 'strongly disagree'), which can then be subjected to statistical analysis.

How objective should the data be ?

A distinction is often made between objective data, which is independent of the attitudes or prejudices of the people involved in collecting or providing the information (eg. the interviewers or interviewees), and subjective data, which is influenced by such attitudes or prejudices. In practice, however, data is very seldom totally objective, because those involved almost inevitably influence the data collection exercise in some way or other. In fact, the initial process of deciding what data to collect and what not to collect immediately introduces an element of bias into the exercise. For example, the social indicators in Box 5.1 give a picture of social development in Gondwanaland which is biased in favour of, firstly, those aspects of social development which the planners (as opposed, say, to the general population) think are most important and, secondly, those aspects for which data is available. In reality, therefore, it is not a question of whether the data is objective or subjective but of the degree of objectivity.

There is a tendency to assume that qualitative data is less objective than quantitative data. However, although this is often the case, it is not necessarily true. There is plenty of room for subjectivity in the collection of quantitative data, especially if some sort of survey is involved, since the data will be influenced by the prejudices and errors of the people collecting and providing the information. For example, since much of the quantitative data in Box 5.1 was obtained from the reports of the 1990 Population Census and

the 1991 Sample Agricultural Survey, its objectivity is dependent on the honesty with which interviewees answered questions, the diligence and integrity of the interviewers and, in the case of the Sample Survey, the way in which households were selected. In other words, quantitative data may look more objective, because it is expressed in numerical form, but in fact its objectivity depends on the way in which it is collected and analyzed.

Similarly, there is a tendency to assume that objective data is 'better' than subjective data, because it is not 'distorted' by human bias or prejudice. Once again this is an assumption which is often but not necessarily true. A great deal depends on the purpose for which the data is required and how it is used. In some cases, particularly when the main purpose is to gain an understanding of people's attitudes and behaviour, one is actually looking for data which reflects the biases and prejudices of the interviewees. Moreover, even when this is not the case, it is generally better to use qualitative data which is known to be subjective than quantitative data which appears to be objective but in actual fact is not. In such cases, the important point is to be aware of the limitations of the data one is using and, therefore, any decisions one may make on the basis thereof. The implications of this in terms of the accuracy of data will be considered later.

How should the data be disaggregated ?

Data can be broken down, or disaggregated, in various ways, and before starting to collect data it is necessary to consider how it should be disaggregated, since this will affect the form in which it is collected. The two main ways in which social data for rural area planning are likely to be disaggregated are on the basis of geographical area and social group.

Disaggregation of data on the basis of **geographical area** is used to distinguish and compare the characteristics of particular geographical areas. For example, most of the data in Box 5.1 relates to Gondwanaland District as a whole, and is thus useful for indicating the level of social development in the district as a whole and comparing it with other districts. However, for most district planning purposes it is necessary to distinguish between different parts of the district, either to prioritize areas on the basis of need or potential or to focus on a particular part of the district where, for example, a particular project is being planned. A preliminary indication of the degree of geographical variation within Gondwanaland is given in the section on 'inequality between areas' in Box 5.1, while the information on Muriwana and Wiriwana villages in Box 3.1 (Chapter 3) is an example of data related to specific parts of a district - in this case, two villages.

Disaggregation of data on the basis of **social groups** is used to identify variations or inequalities between social groups or to focus attention on any particular group. This is particularly important in social planning, since one

of its objectives is to reduce inequalities between social groups. The sections on 'inequality between households' and 'gender relations' in Box 5.1 give some indication of the type of data needed for such purposes - and the difficulty of obtaining such data. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8, which focuses specifically on planning for disadvantaged social groups.

When should data be collected ?

Data may be collected at various times, depending on the type of data and the purpose for which it is required. There are three main possibilities: a 'one-off' approach, a 'time series' approach, and a 'before and after' approach.

The **'one-off' approach** is one where data is collected and presented for one particular point in time only, as in the case of most of the indicators in Box 5.1. This is sufficient if one only needs to know about the present situation or if, as in Box 5.1, one wants a 'snapshot' of the situation, possibly to make a comparison with other situations. For example, the data in Box 5.1 could be used to compare the level of social development in Gondwanaland with that in other districts at the same point in time.

The **'time series' approach** involves collecting data at regular intervals over a predetermined period of time. Much of the data in Box 5.1 is, in fact, extracted from time series data, although the intervals vary considerably. For example, population censuses are usually conducted every ten years, while health and education statistics are usually compiled on an annual basis. Time series data is necessary if one needs to know about historical trends or if there is likely to be considerable variation over time and so a 'one-off' survey could be misleading.

The **'before and after' approach** involves two major data collection exercises: one before an anticipated change or event and one afterwards. This approach is usually used to evaluate the impact of a particular policy, programme or project. It is obviously important to plan such an evaluation before implementation starts, so that one can undertake the 'before' study. In many cases, planners do not think about evaluation until implementation is complete, by which time one can only do an 'after' study. This kind of data collection will be considered further in Chapter 7, which focuses on project appraisal and evaluation.

How accurate should data be?

The question of accuracy has already been touched upon on a number of occasions, since one of the main concerns when addressing all the earlier questions is to ensure that the information obtained is as accurate as possible. At this point, therefore, it is merely necessary to make a few general

comments about the degree of accuracy necessary. The situation is similar to that of the quantity of data, in that the information one is able to obtain is seldom as accurate as one would wish. The aim, therefore, should be to achieve the minimum degree of accuracy necessary for the particular purpose concerned and to be aware of any possible inaccuracies in the data which may affect the validity of the conclusions reached or decisions made.

There is a tendency, particularly among economists, to assume that social data is less accurate than other kinds of data, including economic data, because it is more likely to be qualitative and/or subjective in nature. However, there are two major flaws in this argument. Firstly, as already indicated, social data can and should include both quantitative and qualitative data and data with varying degrees of objectivity, depending on the type of data and the purpose for which it is required. Secondly, data which is qualitative and subjective is not necessarily less accurate, since accuracy depends not on the type of data but on the way in which it is collected and analyzed. As already indicated, there is plenty of room for error in the collection and analysis of quantitative data. Furthermore, since such errors are difficult to identify, especially when the data is presented in its final form, there is a very real risk that conclusions will be reached or decisions made on the assumption that the data is accurate when in fact it is not.

Primary or secondary data?

Data can be obtained from many different sources. However, it is conventional - and useful for the present purpose - to divide these into two main categories: primary and secondary. Primary data is data which is collected for the particular planning purpose in question, while secondary data is that which has already been collected (either for a previous planning exercise or as part of a general data collection programme) and is merely utilized for the present planning purpose.

In any form of planning, it is advisable to assess the availability of secondary data before embarking upon a primary data collection exercise, since the latter is expensive in terms of time, money and manpower. This is particularly true at district level, where such resources tend to be particularly scarce. However, if the necessary secondary data is not available, or not available in an appropriate form, or if it would take longer to explore the secondary data possibilities than to go out and collect the data oneself, it is necessary to plan a primary data collection programme. In practice, most planning activities tend to utilize a combination of primary and secondary data.

The last two sections of this chapter examine in some depth the collection and use of these two types of data, beginning with secondary data, since (as already indicated) it is advisable to utilize any available secondary data before starting to collect primary data.

5.3 The Collection and Use of Secondary Data

Secondary data may take many forms and its quality and value for rural area planning varies greatly. In some countries, districts are encouraged to maintain a 'store' of basic secondary data about the district which can be used as and when needed for planning purposes. In order to be effective, such a store should be kept in a central place, such as a planning office or conference room, and it should be up-dated regularly. In many countries, no such store exists and it is therefore necessary to collect the secondary data individually for each planning exercise. However, in such cases, it is advisable for those involved in planning on a regular basis to familiarize themselves with the kinds of secondary data available so that they know where to go when the need arises.

This section of the chapter looks at five different types of secondary data, all of which are likely to be needed for the social aspects of rural area planning and are relatively easily available at district level. They are: demographic data; sample agricultural household surveys; official government records; maps; and general knowledge. These are not the only types of secondary data which may be used, but they give some indication of the range of information available from secondary sources - and the problems likely to be encountered in collecting and using such data.

Demographic data

Demographic data is data on the size and structure of a population, including the total population, household size, distribution by age and sex, past and future rates of growth, fertility and mortality, migration and population density. This sort of information is frequently required for a variety of different planning purposes at district level. Sometimes the need is for aggregate data for the district as whole, sometimes for data disaggregated on the basis of administrative subdivision or social group, and sometimes for data just for one area or community.

It is difficult to get accurate demographic information without a detailed house-to-house survey, which is expensive in terms of time, money and manpower. Therefore, unless the information is needed only for a small area where it is feasible to undertake such a survey, it is normally necessary to rely on secondary data, although some 'short-cut' methods of collecting reasonably accurate data on a larger scale will be described in section 5.4.

The main secondary source of demographic data is national population censuses. These are normally undertaken (if political and economic circumstances permit) approximately every ten years, and in some countries the information is supplemented by one or more inter-censal sample surveys.

In most cases, such censuses also include some other basic household data, such as occupations, education and access to services such as water and sanitation. In Box 5.1, for example, the data on infant mortality, household assets and access to water and sanitation was derived from national census data.

There are two main problems in using census data at district level. Firstly, the data is not always disaggregated on the same basis as that needed for district planning purposes. For example, census enumeration areas do not always correspond to local administrative units (such as villages or wards) and, although the data is broken down by sex and age, it is seldom available on the basis of any other social criteria, such as ethnic group or social class. And secondly, it is often not sufficiently up-to-date. It is usually several years before the full results of a population census are available to the public, by which time they are already somewhat out-of-date, and then there is a ten-year gap before the next census data becomes available. This presents particular problems in districts where the population is growing rapidly or unevenly, since it is difficult to make accurate projections on the basis of the information available.

It is not possible to look in detail at all aspects of demographic data here. However, Boxes 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate two possible applications of census data for planning purposes in Gondwanaland, both of which are likely to be fairly widely used in any district.

Box 5.2 presents the data on population density by ward used to compile Map 3 in Chapter 2. It includes the following information: the area and 1990 population of each ward, as recorded in the 1990 National Population Census; the estimated present (1993) population of each ward, which is calculated by multiplying by the average annual growth rate for the district as a whole over the previous ten-year period (which is available from the Census); and the population density, which is the 1993 population divided by the area. In this case, the exercise was relatively easy because the census data was disaggregated on the basis of wards, which are the main units of administration and planning in the district. Moreover, the population projections are inevitably approximate, because they do not make any allowance for changes in the average rate of population growth or for variations in the rate of growth from one part of the district to another.

BOX 5.2

GONDWANALAND DISTRICT: POPULATION DENSITY BY WARD

WARD	AREA (SQ.KM.)	POP'N 1990 (1)	EST.POP'N 1993 (2)	POP'N PER SQ.KM. 1993
1	303	9,927	10,847	35.8
2	208	7,632	8,340	40.1
3	478	9,317	10,181	21.3
4	492	8,780	9,594	19.5
5	545	10,424	11,390	20.9
6	432	9,330	10,195	23.6
7	221	10,132	11,072	50.1
8	199	9,525	10,408	52.3
9	296	11,106	12,136	41.0
10	299	11,437	12,498	41.8
11	320	11,743	12,832	40.1
12	350	10,057	10,990	31.4
13	151	7,725	8,441	55.9
14	255	11,457	12,520	49.1
15	285	11,015	12,037	42.2
16	180	8,747	9,558	53.1
17	236	7,386	8,071	34.2
18	230	10,166	11,109	48.3
19	303	9,695	10,594	35.0
20	158	9,008	9,843	62.3
21	130	8,149	8,905	68.5
22	273	8,994	9,828	36.0
23	225	11,531	12,600	56.0
24	278	11,576	12,649	45.5
25	281	11,855	12,954	46.1
26	196	10,241	11,191	57.1
27	380	11,893	12,996	34.2
28	220	7,731	8,448	38.4
29	287	9,797	10,705	37.3
30	199	9,087	9,930	49.9
31	206	9,633	10,526	51.1
32	182	8,694	9,500	52.2
33	425	9,840	10,752	25.3
34	280	6,201	6,776	24.2
35	296	7,693	8,406	28.4

--/..

WARD	AREA (SQ. KM.)	POP'N 1990 (1)	EST.POP'N 1993 (2)	POP'N PER SQ.KM. 1993
36	415	9,608	10,499	25.3
37	331	8,331	9,103	27.5
38	201	5,500	6,010	29.9
39	256	10,682	11,673	45.6
40	460	5,851	6,394	13.9
41	586	8,098	8,849	15.1
42	1,003	6,885	7,523	7.5
43	1,116	7,966	8,705	7.8
44	965	7,242	7,913	8.2
Total	15,132 (3)	407,687	445,491	29.4 (3)
(1) 1990 National Population Census				
(2) 1990 Census figure + 3% per annum increase for 3 years				
(3) Excludes forest reserve				

Box 5.3 shows the population of Gondwanaland District as a whole subdivided by age and sex, based on the 1990 Census data. The data is presented in two forms: a table and a diagram known as a 'population pyramid'. It then shows how this data can be used to calculate the numbers of boys and girls of primary school age in 1993. This in turn can be used, together with educational statistics, to calculate the proportion of boys and girls in this age group who actually attend school, which is (as indicated in Box 5.1) an important social indicator. Similar calculations can be made to determine the number of males and/or females in other age categories (eg. secondary school age, economically active, dependent elderly).

Sample agricultural household surveys

In many countries sample agricultural household surveys are undertaken at regular intervals, by either the ministry responsible for agriculture or a national statistical agency, to produce basic data on the volume and methods of agricultural production. There are several different methods used for such surveys. However, in most cases households are selected from different agro-economic zones and information is collected over a full agricultural year, in order to obtain information on production methods. The information collected usually includes household size, area cultivated by different crops, inputs (including labour), yields, crop sales and income, and (although sometimes as a separate livestock survey) the number of livestock owned by type and the number sold.

BOX 5.3

GONDWANALAND DISTRICT: POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1990

AGE GROUP (YEARS)	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
0-4	35,877	8.8	35,841	8.8	71,718	17.6
5-9	29,354	7.2	30,964	7.6	60,318	14.8
10-14	20,384	5.0	23,646	5.8	44,030	10.8
15-19	20,792	5.1	19,161	4.7	39,953	9.8
20-24	18,350	4.5	19,569	4.8	37,919	9.3
25-29	18,342	4.5	18,346	4.5	36,688	9.0
30-34	13,453	3.3	14,269	3.5	27,722	6.8
35-39	11,415	2.8	12,638	3.1	24,053	5.9
40-44	8,154	2.0	10,600	2.6	18,754	4.6
45-49	6,523	1.6	8,561	2.1	15,084	3.7
50-54	4,485	1.1	5,708	1.4	10,193	2.5
55-59	2,854	0.7	4,468	1.1	7,322	1.8
60-64	2,446	0.6	3,262	0.8	5,708	1.4
65-69	1,631	0.4	1,691	0.4	3,322	0.8
70-74	1,226	0.3	1,235	0.3	2,461	0.6
75+	1,219	0.3	1,223	0.3	2,442	0.6
TOTAL	196,505	48.2	211,182	51.8	407,687	100.0

Calculation of primary school age population 1993

Primary school age = 6-12 years inclusive.

Children aged 6-12 years in 1993 were 3-9 years in 1990.

Thus, potential primary school age population = all those aged 5-9 years and approx. 2/5 of those aged 0-4 years in 1990 =

males: $29,354 + 14,351 = 43,705$ (approx.)

females: $30,964 + 14,336 = 45,300$ (approx.)

total: $60,318 + 28,687 = 89,005$ (approx.)

But some of these children will have died between 1990 and 1993.

After adjusting for mortality rate of 9 per 1000 each year, estimated primary school age population =

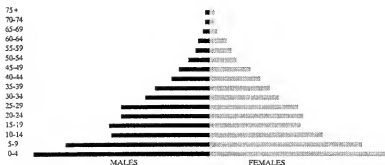
males: 42,536 (= approx. 42,500)

females: 44,088 (= approx. 44,000)

total: 86,624 (= approx. 86,500).

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX - 1990

Age group
(years)



This sort of information is much needed for district planning purposes, particularly in the agricultural sector, and - like demographic data - it is the sort of information which it is difficult to obtain accurately without a detailed household survey. However, the extent to which such surveys can be used at district level varies, depending on the size of the sample, the way in which it is selected, and the way in which the results are disaggregated. In most cases, this kind of survey is undertaken for national rather than district planning purposes. Consequently, the sample is relatively small and nationwide agro-economic zones usually provide the basis for both selecting the sample and disaggregating the data. However, in some countries where the importance of district level agricultural planning is recognized, such surveys are designed in such a way that they provide statistically valid data at least for the district as a whole and sometimes for particular agro-economic or administrative areas within districts.

In Box 5.1, the information on land cultivated, livestock units and agricultural income presented in the sections on 'quality of life' and 'inequality between households within areas' were derived from a National Sample Agricultural Survey. In this case, the survey provided data which is statistically valid for the district as a whole but not for individual subdivisions. Consequently, it is useful for giving a general picture of agriculture in the district as a whole, which can in turn be used to make comparisons between districts or (if such surveys are undertaken regularly) over time. However, it is of limited value for detailed agricultural planning. For such purposes, it will be necessary either to rely on reports or casual observation by agricultural staff (see below) or to undertake special surveys (see section 5.4).

Official government records

One of the most useful potential sources of information for district planning purposes is the official records which all government agencies at district level are required to keep and submit periodically to their national headquarters. These records usually take two main forms: **reports on activities and problems** and **statistical returns**. This information is primarily intended for national planning and monitoring purposes and district staff tend to regard the maintenance of such records as an unpleasant and largely unnecessary chore. However, a considerable part of the information can usually be fruitfully used at district level. Moreover, with a little ingenuity, district staff can modify the official recording procedures to collect any additional information they may themselves need while still meeting the requirements of their head offices.

All the data on education and health services in Box 5.1 is derived from statistical returns by district representatives of the Ministries of Education and Health. In some cases (eg. the proportion of primary school leavers going on to secondary school and the average class size), such information can be obtained directly from these returns. In other cases, some form of analysis is normally required. For example, in order to know the proportion of primary school age children attending school it is necessary to calculate the number of primary school age children, as demonstrated in Box 5.3. Similarly, in order to know the proportion of the population within a specific radius of a particular education or health facility, it is necessary to locate these facilities on a map and relate this to information on population distribution. This is a somewhat more complex exercise, which will be described in Chapter 6, in the section on education planning.

Maps

Maps are a very useful way of presenting data for district planning, especially as a means of conveying information or stimulating discussion at meetings of civil servants, local politicians and/or the general public. Since they portray data in a visual form, they are simpler and clearer than written reports or statistical tables and even people who are not familiar with maps can quickly learn to understand them. They are particularly useful in indicating the degree and form of variation within the district and the relationship between different sectoral activities within a particular geographical area.

Secondary data is often already available in map form, although sometimes the scale of the map is inappropriate for district planning purposes and so the data has to be transcribed onto another map. For example, published maps of physical characteristics (relief, rainfall, geology, soils, etc.) and of the main settlements and communications (roads, railways) are usually available on a nationwide basis, while the district offices of government agencies frequently have their own, hand-drawn maps showing the particular infrastructure or

services with which they are concerned (eg. schools, health facilities, water supplies, roads). And data which is not already in map form, can often be presented in such a way without a great deal of effort.

The maps of Gondwanaland in Chapter 2 indicate some of the data which can be presented in the form of maps. Most of the data on these maps is likely already to be available in map form. However, the map of population distribution (Map 3) might have to be compiled by the planner from data such as that in Box 5.2. Further examples of the use of maps will be given in Chapter 6.

General knowledge

Another very valuable source of information for planning at district level is the considerable amount of general knowledge about the district which those involved in planning inevitably have, especially if they have lived or worked in the area for many years. This sort of information is frequently used for planning purposes, but often more or less unconsciously. For example, when a government officer makes an initial proposal for a project which he (or she) considers necessary or contributes to a discussion on someone else's proposal at a planning meeting, it is more than likely that he will be drawing upon his general knowledge of the area. Most of the qualitative data on social justice in Box 5.1 is based on such general knowledge.

The value of this sort of information is limited by the fact that it tends to be qualitative rather than quantitative and to have a high degree of subjectivity. Furthermore, its coverage is seldom comprehensive or systematic, since it has been acquired coincidentally, rather than through a planned data collection exercise. However, these disadvantages are at least partially counterbalanced by the depth and vividness which such information inevitably has. In many cases, it is possible to extract and utilize this sort of information in a more systematic manner; for example, relevant informants may be asked to complete a questionnaire or attend a structured interview. However, in this case one is, strictly speaking, moving from secondary to primary data collection. This sort of primary data collection will be discussed in the last part of section 5.4.

5.4 The Collection and Use of Primary Data

Primary data is, as already indicated, data which is collected for a specific planning purpose. In most kinds of planning activity it is necessary to collect some primary data because secondary data seldom provides all the information needed. This is perhaps particularly true in the case of social planning, since secondary data is unlikely to provide the detailed information

about people's needs, problems and attitudes which such planning frequently requires. However, there are several different ways of collecting primary data for social planning purposes, depending partly on the type of information required but also on the resources available for data collection. Although primary data collection generally requires more time, money and manpower than using secondary data, there are methods which are relatively inexpensive. This section of the chapter looks at four different types of primary data collection, in order to demonstrate the variety of approaches possible and the issues and problems likely to arise. The four types are: censuses; sample household surveys; rapid appraisal techniques; and participant observation.

Censuses

The term 'census' is generally used to refer to a survey of all the households in a given area in order to obtain basic data on household characteristics, particularly (but not only) demographic characteristics. The most obvious examples are national population censuses, which were discussed in section 5.3 under the heading of demographic data. It was suggested in section 5.3 that conventional censuses tend to be particularly expensive forms of data collection, since they involve visits to every household in the area. Very few districts ever have the resources to undertake this sort of census for the district as a whole. There are, however, two types of census which can be considered at district level.

'Indirect' census

One is what might be called an 'indirect' census. In this case, household information is obtained indirectly from informants, rather than by actually visiting each household. The informants are usually local level officials, who are delegated the task of visiting each household in the areas under their jurisdiction and obtaining certain prescribed information from them. This approach only works if the information required is kept very simple and there is an effective network of local officials who can be relied upon to undertake the work with a reasonable degree of accuracy and integrity. It is most effective if the officials themselves, and preferably also the people from whom they have to collect the information, appreciate the purpose and value of the exercise. And even then one cannot expect the information to be highly accurate.

This sort of census is worth trying if one requires basic, and not highly accurate, information on the population of the district as a whole (or a large portion of it) and there is no appropriate secondary source. It is particularly useful if there is no reasonably accurate or up-to-date information on population size, or if such information is not disaggregated on the basis of administrative units which are generally used for district planning purposes. Box 5.4 describes a census which was undertaken in Gondwanaland District

BOX 5.4

THE 1988 GONDWANALAND CENSUS

In 1988 the Gondwanaland District Development Committee decided that there was a need to know the approximate population of each ward, as a basis for determining the distribution of the annual Rural Development Fund (RDF) allocation between wards and for general planning purposes. Since it was eight years since the last national population census, there was no up-to-date population data. The next census was not due until 1990 and the results of this would probably not be available before 1992. They therefore decided to undertake their own census, using the ward and village development committee structures. The results would not be as accurate as a proper census, but it would be better than nothing. The District Secretary (DS) and the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the District Council were given the responsibility of organizing the census.

The census was undertaken in the following way:

- *At the next meeting of the District Council, the DS and CEO explained that it was necessary to know how many people there were in each ward, in order to allocate the RDF fairly and to know how many people were supposed to pay poll tax. The point about tax was introduced to discourage people from over-estimating the population in order to gain a larger share of the RDF.*
- *The councillors, who chair the ward development committees, were given a census form for each village in their ward. On this form they were required to list all households in the village and to record the name of the household head and the number of people in each. They were briefed on how to complete the forms at a special meeting, which was also attended by the ward community development workers (CDWs).*
- *Each councillor, assisted by the CDW, then held a meeting of his (or her) ward development committee, which is composed of the chairpersons of each village development committee. At this meeting the census was explained and a form was given to each village chairperson.*
- *The village chairpersons then conducted the census, monitored as far as possible by the councillor and the CDW.*
- *The forms were then returned to the councillor and from there to the Council, where they were checked and processed by the CEO and his staff.*

in 1988, in order to determine the approximate population of each ward and village as a basis for distributing the district's annual Rural Development Fund allocation. In this case, the system of ward and village development committees was used as the basis for data collection.

Census of a small area

The other type of census which can be attempted at district level is one which involves only a very small area or community. This kind of census can be very useful if one is planning a project in a particular community (such as a village) and requires basic information on all households in the community in order to design the details of the project and/or provide 'baseline' data from which to later evaluate the impact of the project. In such cases, special funds are sometimes available for such preparatory studies, especially if the project is being funded by some sort of donor agency. And if special funds are not available, existing resources (such as extension staff) can usually be diverted from their normal duties for the relatively short period of time needed to undertake the census.

Box 5.5 illustrates the use of such a census. It describes how the District Agricultural Officer in Gondwanaland decided, after the unfortunate experience with the vegetable garden project described in Box 3.3, to plan the next project of this kind more carefully. This was a project designed to increase cotton production in Zone IIb and the DAO decided that the first step should be to find out more about existing farming systems in the area. In order to do this he used various survey methods, the first of which (described in section (a)), was a census of two villages, in order to find out how much cotton was actually being grown and to provide a basis for selecting a smaller sample of farmers for more detailed study.

Sample household surveys

Sample household surveys are the best known method of obtaining information at the household level. Since such surveys include only a sample of the total population, they require less resources than a conventional census, and so are more likely to be a practicable means of obtaining information for district planning. However, they still require relatively large amounts of time, money and manpower. Consequently, they are generally used for specific purposes in a limited geographical area, rather than to provide basic data for the district as a whole.

BOX 5.5

COLLECTING INFORMATION FOR THE COTTON DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

In 1991 the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) of Gondwanaland decided to look at ways of increasing cotton production in Zone IIb, where the natural resources are similar to Zone IIa but cotton production was considerably lower. After the experience with the vegetable garden project in Zone III (see Box 3.3), he decided that rather than just promote cotton through normal extension methods, he would first find out more about farming systems in the area, in order to see if there were any particular constraints to cotton growing. Since he could not get information from every village, he selected five villages at varying distances from the only cotton marketing depot in the area. He then proceeded to conduct three different kinds of survey: village censuses, sample household surveys and rapid rural appraisal.

■ **Village censuses**

His original intention was to conduct a complete household census in each of the five villages, in order to find out how much cotton each was growing as a basis for selecting a smaller number of households for more detailed study. However, since his resources were limited, he decided to begin in two villages. The censuses were conducted by one of his staff with some training in survey methods, assisted in each case by the extension worker responsible for the village. They went to the villages during the cotton growing season and made rough estimates of the area under cotton planted by each household.

■ **Sample household surveys**

The DAO then divided the population of each of the two villages into three categories on the basis of the amount of cotton grown. The three categories were: none, up to one hectare, and more than one hectare. 10% of the households in each category were then selected randomly for more detailed study. In this case, a simple questionnaire was used, containing questions on household size and composition, ethnolinguistic origin, total area cultivated, area under cotton, availability of draught power, and distance from the cotton marketing depot. The findings from these two surveys suggested that there were three main factors affecting the amount of cotton grown: ethnolinguistic origin (Gonds appearing more likely to cultivate cotton than Wana), availability of draught power, and distance from the depot.

--/--

Box 5.5 (cont.)

■ **Rapid rural appraisal**

The DAO was pleased with the results of the studies in the first two villages but concerned about the amount of time they had taken. He therefore decided in the other three villages to replace the census with a rapid rural appraisal. Instead of visiting each household, the two extension workers sat down with the village leaders, and together they drew a sketchmap showing the location of all the households in the village, discussed how much cotton each household grew and divided them into the same three categories used in the other villages. They then cross-checked this information by visiting a few households in each category. The sample household surveys were then conducted in the same manner as in the first two villages.

The sample can be selected in three main ways, depending on the type of information required:

- a **random sample** is selected totally randomly, without any prior knowledge or consideration of particular characteristics (eg. by selecting every nth household from an alphabetical list or as located on the ground);
- a **stratified random sample** is selected by first dividing the population into categories on the basis of some predetermined characteristic(s) and then selecting a random sample from each category; and
- a **purposive sample** is selected on the basis of one or more predetermined characteristics, the aim being to obtain information about those members of the population who exhibit such characteristics.

In all cases the size of the sample is important, since the sample must be large enough to provide data which is statistically representative of the population as a whole. The minimum sample size varies according to the size of the population and the type of sample. For example, the proportion of the population included in the sample should be larger in small than in large populations, and random samples should be larger than stratified random or purposive samples. However, it should not normally be less than about 10% of the population.

Since such surveys are a well established method of social research, on which much has already been written, further discussion of their methodology is unnecessary here. However, Box 5.5 provides an example of the use of a sample household survey. It describes how the information on cotton production obtained from the two village censuses in Zone IIb of Gondwanaland was used as a basis for selecting a stratified random sample of households in each village, who were then interviewed in more detail. In this case, the sample was stratified on the basis of the amount of cotton grown and the main purpose of the sample survey was to find out more about the factors affecting cotton production.

Rapid appraisal techniques

The concept of 'rapid rural appraisal' was introduced in the late 1970s as a means of obtaining information for rural development planning in situations where there is insufficient time, money and/or manpower to use conventional social survey methods, such as censuses and sample surveys. Until that time, the only alternative source of information was casual observation, often based on a quick drive around the area concerned and thus referred to as 'rural development tourism', which provided unreliable data, biased in favour of those areas easily accessible by road.

Since then, the term 'rapid rural appraisal' has become widely used and, in some cases, extended to cover more than just primary data collection. Because the techniques it uses to collect data often involve active participation by local people, it has in particular become closely associated with participatory planning and the term is thus sometimes used to refer to a comprehensive participatory planning approach. This dimension of rapid rural appraisal will be examined in Chapter 9, which looks specifically at participatory planning. However, for the purposes of this chapter the term will be used in its original sense of a means of collecting primary data in situations where there are insufficient resources to adopt conventional survey methods.

The basic aim of rapid rural appraisal is to obtain information which is adequate - in terms of both quantity and quality - to achieve a particular planning objective with the limited resources of time, money and manpower available. Because the techniques used are in a sense 'short-cut' methods of data collection, the information obtained is often not as accurate or comprehensive as that which would be obtained from a conventional census or sample survey, and it tends to be more qualitative and subjective in form. However, this is not necessarily the case. Much depends on how well the two types of survey are conducted. The results of a good rapid rural appraisal are likely to be much more accurate than those of a bad census or sample survey. Moreover, because rapid appraisal techniques tend to require the active participation of the people who will benefit from the project or programme being planned, there are additional benefits (which will be discussed in

Chapter 9) in terms of the long-term sustainability of the project or programme.

Rapid rural appraisal is an art rather than a science, in that it involves designing data collection programmes to fit the particular needs and constraints of each situation, rather than rigidly applying predetermined survey methods. Consequently, there are many different types of appraisal techniques and new ones are being 'invented' all the time. Furthermore, in many cases, more than one technique is used to obtain the same information, as a means of cross-checking the information obtained and thereby compensating for any inaccuracies or biases.

Because there are so many different types of rapid appraisal technique, it is not possible to even list them all here, let alone describe them in any detail. The best way of appreciating their nature and scope is to look at specific examples. Boxes 5.5 and 5.6 provide two such examples. Section (c) of Box 5.5 is a continuation of the account of the cotton expansion project. It describes how the DAO extended the survey to three more villages but, in order to reduce the resources required, used rapid appraisal techniques instead of a full village census to find out how much cotton was being grown and provide the basis for the stratified random sampling. And Box 5.6 describes how various rapid appraisal techniques were used to obtain basic information about farming systems throughout the district, in order to supplement the limited information available from the National Sample Agricultural Survey. The 'indirect' census described in Box 5.4 might also be described as a form of rapid appraisal.

Participant observation

The term "participant observation" is used to refer to the collection of data by people who are actively involved in a situation or an area in a capacity other than data collection. Such people play a dual role, in that they collect data in addition to their normal daily functions. Consequently, participant observation is a relatively economical means of data collection and is, therefore, often included among the repertoire of rapid rural appraisal techniques. However, it is discussed separately here, partly because it is a well established means of data collection which was used before the concept of rapid rural appraisal was conceived and partly because it is of particular relevance in district planning.

Its relevance to district planning lies in the fact that extension workers (including not only agricultural staff but also community development workers, teachers, health workers, and so on) are a valuable potential resource of participant observers. It was mentioned in the last part of section 5.3 that such staff have a great deal of general knowledge about the district which is seldom used systematically but can be 'harnessed' for planning purposes.

BOX 5.6

USING RAPID RURAL APPRAISAL TO GET FARMING SYSTEMS DATA

Encouraged by the findings of his surveys of cotton production in Zone IIb (see Box 5.5), the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) of Gondwanaland decided to use rapid rural appraisal methods to obtain basic information on the farming systems in each zone. This would provide more detailed information than that available from the 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey and would be useful for basic agricultural planning purposes.

His aim was to obtain the following information for each agroeconomic zone:

- 1. Estimated area cultivated (average and range)*
- 2. Main crops cultivated (cash and subsistence)*
- 3. Estimated proportion of households using:*
 - (a) irrigation*
 - (b) draught power (ox/tractor)*
 - (c) fertilizers (mulch/manure/artificial)*
 - (d) hired labour*
- 4. Estimated number of livestock owned, by type (average and range)*
- 5. Main uses of livestock (meat, milk, draught power, cash sale, social status)*
- 6. Grazing system (communal/paddocks/stall-feeding).*

He realized that he would not be able to get highly accurate information, especially in the case of the quantitative data. But he hoped to be able to get enough information to give a general picture of the farming systems in each zone.

The data collection involved five main stages:

- *Questionnaires covering the above topics were sent to all agricultural extension staff. They were required to complete a questionnaire for the ward in which they were working (and/or any other wards with which they were familiar if they had been transferred recently), using their existing general knowledge of the area rather than conducting any kind of special investigation.*

Box 5.6 (cont.)

- *The questionnaires were analyzed by zone. The information was adequate to prepare a general description of each zone and, in some cases, to divide a zone into 'sub-zones' if there appeared to be significant differences within it. However, the quantitative data on area cultivated and livestock numbers was inadequate to draw any meaningful conclusions.*
- *In order to cross-check the initial information and get more accurate quantitative data, the following steps were taken:*
 - (i) *Extension staff were required to cross-check their information on area cultivated and livestock numbers by asking specific questions to those farmers whom they visited in the course of their daily work.*
 - (ii) *A small team of extension staff visited a small sample of villages in each zone and sub-zone (selected randomly) and cross-checked the information through observation and discussions with village leaders.*
 - (iii) *Comparisons were made with any available secondary data.*
- *This information was used to revise and supplement the initial descriptions of zones and sub-zones.*
- *Finally, the DAO organized a workshop, attended by all extension staff, at which the descriptions of zones and sub-zones were discussed and final amendments made.*

There are two main ways of harnessing this knowledge. One way is to extract information which the extension workers already have. This can be done by, for example, requiring them to complete a questionnaire, attend a structured interview or take part in a roundtable discussion. The other way is to ask them in advance to collect specific information in the course of their daily work and to record their observations in a particular form.

Both methods are illustrated in Box 5.6. The agricultural extension workers of Gondwanaland were required, initially, to complete a simple questionnaire about the farming systems in the agroecoeconomic zones with which they were familiar and, subsequently, as an extension of their normal duties to collect certain information which was then used to check and supplement the initial data.

SUMMARY

- Data plays an essential role in all forms of planning, including social planning; it is required in all stages of the planning process.
 - It is important to identify one's data needs before starting the process of data collection. It is particularly necessary to consider: (i) the minimum amount of data needed to achieve a particular planning objective; (ii) the subject matter which the data should cover; (iii) the relative importance of quantitative and qualitative data; (iv) the degree of objectivity required; (v) how the data should be disaggregated; (vi) when it should be collected; (vii) the degree of accuracy required; and (viii) the relative importance of primary and secondary data.
 - Secondary data should be utilized if it is accessible and available in the form required, since it is usually more economical in terms of time, money and manpower than collecting primary data.
 - Types of secondary data likely to be useful for social planning at district level include national population censuses, national sample surveys of agricultural households, official records kept by district offices of government agencies, maps, and general knowledge.
 - Methods of primary data collection vary in terms of the amount of resources required. Conventional social survey methods (such as censuses and sample surveys) often provide the most reliable information but require large amounts of time, money and manpower. The term 'rapid rural appraisal' is used to describe a wide range of techniques which require less resources and provide data which, although often less accurate and/or comprehensive, is nevertheless adequate for a particular planning purpose. Participant observation is a potentially valuable means of collecting data at district level with limited resources, since it utilizes local extension staff.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

- Casley, D.J. & D.A. Lury, Data Collection in Developing Countries, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981. A comprehensive and practical guide to many forms of data collection required at district level, although with the emphasis on conventional rather than 'rapid' techniques.
- FAO, Guide for Training in the Formulation of Agricultural and Rural Investment Projects: Planning Tools, FAO, Rome, 1994. A training text with exercises on survey methods and rapid rural appraisal.
- FAO, Population, Society and Agricultural Planning, FAO Economic and Social Development Paper 51, Rome, 1987. Includes detailed guidelines on the collection and analysis of demographic data and its application in various aspects of agricultural planning.
- Longhurst, R. (ed), 'Rapid rural appraisal', Bulletin of the Institute of Development Studies (university of Sussex), vol.12, no. 4, October 1981 (whole issue). The first comprehensive collection of articles on rapid rural appraisal; indicates its rationale and the nature and scope of techniques used.
- McCracken, J.A., J.N. Pretty & G.R. Conway, An Introduction to Rapid Rural Appraisal for Agricultural Development, London, International Institute for Environment and Development, 1988. Useful overview of the objectives and methods of rapid rural appraisal and their application for agricultural planning; emphasizes the role of participatory techniques.
- Peil, M. et al., Social Science Research Methods: An Africa Handbook, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1982. A comprehensive and practical review of conventional social survey methods; written specifically for Africa but relevant to most developing countries.

CHAPTER 6

FORMULATING SOCIAL POLICY

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Nutrition policy
- 6.3 Education policy
- 6.4 Rural water supply policy

This chapter looks at the methodological issues and problems which arise when formulating policies to achieve objectives which are primarily or entirely 'social' in nature. It does this by taking three specific examples: nutrition planning; education planning; and planning rural water supplies. In each case, four aspects of planning are considered: its role in the overall process of rural development; data needs; major policy issues; and organizational implications.

CHAPTER 6

FORMULATING SOCIAL POLICY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the formulation of policies to meet social needs or objectives. Its aim is to indicate the types of methodological issues and problems which arise at the policy formulation stage. Chapter 7 will then look at the next stage of the planning process, that of planning specific projects and programmes. In most countries the main responsibility for policy formulation rests at national level and the scope for making major policy decisions at district level is thus limited. However, this does not mean that there is no role at all for policy formulation at district level. This chapter concentrates on those aspects of policy which can be planned at this level, within the broader context of national policies.

The focus of the chapter is on planning to achieve objectives which are generally regarded as being primarily or entirely 'social' in nature, rather than planning where the main objectives are, say, economic or environmental and social considerations are thus of secondary importance. However, this does not mean that 'non-social' factors can be ignored. As already emphasized in Part I of these Guidelines, social development must be seen as an integral part of the overall process of rural development and so cannot be planned in isolation. Consequently, all the policy issues discussed in this chapter have economic as well as social implications and require inputs from more than one discipline or government department.

Since the term 'social' is very broad, there are many different kinds of social policy, each of which raises its own issues and problems. Therefore, instead of trying to generalize about social policy formulation as a whole, the chapter examines three specific examples: nutrition, education and rural water supply. However, in order to emphasize those issues and problems common to all social policy formulation, the discussion of each will be organized under four sub-headings: its role in the overall process of rural development; data needs; major policy issues; and organizational implications. And in each case, the points made will be illustrated by references to relevant sections of the 1992-97 Gondwanaland District Five-Year Plan, which was produced by the District Development Committee in 1991 as a basis for district planning.

6.2 Nutrition Policy

Nutrition is not only an important focus of attention in its own right but also a major component of other aspects of rural development, especially agriculture and health. This is reflected in the fact that there is seldom a separate government agency responsible solely for nutrition at national level. It is thus a good example of the inter-disciplinary nature of social policy formulation.

The role of nutrition in rural development

Nutrition both affects and is affected by other aspects of rural development. In other words, it may be regarded as both an input into the development process and an outcome of it.

It is an input to development in two different ways. On the one hand, it is an important objective in itself, in that an improvement in nutrition increases the general quality of life of the persons concerned. And on the other hand, it is a means of achieving other objectives, notably better health and, therefore, increased productivity, reductions in the cost of health care to the individual and the state, and (again) an increase in the general quality of life.

Nutrition is an outcome of development in that an individual or community's nutritional position (or 'status') depends on many different factors, all of which can be influenced directly or indirectly by development activities. These factors include the quantity and quality of food available, household income and expenditure preferences, family size and (in the case of infants) child spacing, gender relations in both the production and consumption of food, and knowledge about nutrition. It is therefore affected by both the general level of development of the individual or community and by specific development programmes, especially in the fields of agriculture, education and community development.

However, the relationship between nutrition and other aspects of development is often complex. One example of this complexity, that of the impact of cash cropping on nutrition, was given in Chapter 3 (section 3.3) and illustrated by the example of the Gondwanaland vegetable garden project (Box 3.3). Another example is the relationship between income and nutrition. An increase in individual or household income generally results in an increase in the amount of food purchased and consumed, at least up to a certain income level at which nutritional needs are met. But it does not necessarily result in an improvement in the quality of food consumed. In fact, it may result in the consumption of more expensive but less nutritious foods - for example, white rice instead of brown rice, processed instead of unprocessed foods, mineral drinks instead of water or tea, and increased amounts of sugar, fats, alcohol and so on. Moreover, it may also result in the consumption of too much food,

resulting in obesity, high blood pressure, heart disease and related problems, especially when accompanied by a reduction in exercise and/or in cultures where food consumption is regarded as a symbol of affluence and social status. The implications of these complexities for nutritional policy will be considered later.

Data needs

In order to formulate policies to improve nutrition there is a need for information on both the nutritional status of the area or community concerned and the factors affecting this status. Unfortunately, neither kind of information is easy to obtain, especially at district level where resources are limited.

There are two main ways of measuring nutritional status. One is to measure the actual intake of food, in terms of both quantity and nutritional value. This is difficult to do without detailed household surveys, although general information can be obtained by rapid appraisal methods (see Chapter 5), such as discussions with a group of villagers (especially women) or observation by extension staff who live and work in the area. The other method is to measure the impact of nutrition on body size and/or weight. This is not a reliable way of measuring the nutritional status of adults, except in cases of severe malnutrition. However, it is a reasonably accurate indicator of nutrition in the case of small children and there are two relatively simple yardsticks available: weight in relation to age and the circumference of the upper arm. In most countries local medical personnel keep such records for all under-fives who attend maternal and child health clinics; these records are usually the most easily accessible - and often the only - secondary data on nutritional status available to planners at district level.

In order to get information on the factors affecting nutritional status, it is necessary to understand the whole process of food production and/or purchase, storage, preparation and consumption at household level. As in the case of food intake, this really requires detailed household surveys, although general information can be obtained from group interviews and casual observation. It is particularly important - and difficult - to obtain information on relevant cultural factors, such as food preferences, traditional methods of food preparation, and the division of both labour and food between men and women.

Major policy issues

There are many different policy issues related to nutrition. However, for purposes of rural development planning at district level, the following are of particular importance:

■ **Poverty:**

There is a close relationship between poverty and malnutrition. In most rural areas, therefore, an increase in income (either in cash or in kind - ie. food) is a necessary, although not always a sufficient, requirement for improving nutritional status. Consequently, the alleviation of poverty must be a major part of any strategy for improving nutrition. And conversely, any 'development' strategy which results in increased poverty among some or all of the population is likely to have an adverse effect on nutrition. One of the main concerns about structural adjustment programmes is the increase in poverty and, therefore, malnutrition which tends to occur, due primarily to unemployment and increases in food prices. There is little that planners at district level can do to affect such strategies directly. But they can help to alleviate their effects by encouraging income-generating activities and they may be able to have an indirect effect on national policy by monitoring and publicising increases in poverty and malnutrition.

■ **Subsistence production:**

There is a need in many countries to give more attention to subsistence production, with the aim of increasing the quantity, quality and reliability of food supply at household level. The strategies adopted will vary from place to place, since they must be compatible with local physical and cultural conditions. However, they are likely to include measures to increase yields, introduce more nutritious and/or reliable (eg. drought resistant) crops, and improve storage facilities. Agricultural staff at district level usually have some scope to initiate or give greater attention to such measures, although they are obviously bound by national policy and the resources available.

■ **Cash cropping:**

Although cash crops are important as a means of increasing income and therefore reducing poverty, it is important that cash cropping is not promoted at the expense of nutritional considerations. For example, farmers should not be encouraged to devote so much land or inputs to cash crops that they cannot grow enough food to eat, unless it is certain the money earned from cash cropping will be enough to buy food - and that food is available to buy. From this point of view, food crops have an advantage over other cash crops, in that they can be used for domestic consumption and (if there is a surplus) for sale. This has implications in terms of extension policy at district level. It also has implications for pricing policies, but these are obviously beyond the control of district planners.

■ **Nutritional education:**

The policies discussed so far will not result in significant improvements in nutrition unless they are accompanied by nutritional education. This can be

provided through various means, including schools, clinics, community development workers, and agricultural extension staff. And it is something that can be initiated at district level, although again there will be constraints due to national policy (eg. school curriculum) and resource availability.

■ **Food relief:**

Finally, there is a need to be prepared for the possibility of having to provide emergency food relief, particularly in areas susceptible to natural disasters such as drought or floods or affected by war or civil unrest. Although this is primarily a national responsibility, district staff can and should take some precautionary measures, especially if their areas are vulnerable. For example, they can look out for early signs of critical food shortages and have an emergency plan ready to put into action as and when needed. And they may also be able to establish emergency grain stores.

Box 6.1 describes how these various policy issues were incorporated into the 1992-97 Five-Year Plan for Gondwanaland District.

BOX 6.1

NUTRITION POLICY IN GONDWANALAND

The Gondwanaland District Five-Year Plan for the period 1992-97 includes a policy statement on nutrition. The need for such a policy arose from concern by the Ministry of Health and Council health staff about the number of children suffering from malnutrition in the district and observations by Agriculture staff about the possible negative impact of cash cropping on nutrition. The latter included evidence from the vegetable garden project in Zone III (see Box 3.3), which demonstrated the complexity of the relationship between cash cropping and nutrition, and the survey of cotton production in Zone IIb (Box 5.5), which revealed a negative correlation between the amount of cotton grown and the amount of food crops, especially in the case of smaller-scale farmers. There was particular concern about the situation in Zone V, where there is a very high rate of malnutrition (compare Box 3.4), emergency food relief is often needed, and its distribution is frequently hampered because of the area's inaccessibility in the wet season.

../..

Box 6.1 (cont.)

The main components of the nutrition policy are:

- *There will be a concerted effort to alleviate poverty in the district, in order to (among other things) improve the nutritional status of the population.*
- *The Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources will prepare a strategy for improving the production and storage of food crops for each agroeconomic zone and promote these strategies through its extension work. Special attention will be given to Zone V, because of the particular problems there.*
- *Before embarking on any attempt to either increase production of an existing cash crop or introduce a new one, the likely implications in terms of nutrition will be assessed.*
- *A simple package of materials on the basic principles of nutrition will be prepared by the Ministry of Health, in consultation with other relevant agencies, for use by schools, clinics, community development workers and agricultural extension staff.*
- *Agriculture staff will provide advance warning of any likely food shortages to the district's Disaster Relief Committee, which will then be responsible for organizing the necessary food relief. A special store of food grain will be kept at the clinic in Zone V, to facilitate the distribution of relief food when required.*

The policy was formulated by a Nutrition Task Force, composed of representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Health, Education, and Community Development and Social Welfare, and the District Council. This Task Force is also responsible for coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the policy.

Organizational implications

There are two main implications in terms of the organizational structures and procedures needed to formulate nutrition policy at district level:

- The formulation of nutrition policy must be an inter-departmental activity, since several different government departments or agencies are involved. The most obvious are those responsible for agriculture, health, education and community development. This suggests the need for an inter-departmental committee or task force at district level, like that established in Gondwanaland (see Box 6.1). If it is necessary to appoint one agency to play a lead role (for example, to chair the committee), agriculture or health is likely to be the most appropriate; however, this will depend partly on where the main responsibility for nutrition lies at national level.
- Ultimately, decisions about nutrition are made at individual or household level. Consequently, it is essential that the needs and priorities of local people and the social structure within the household are understood and taken into consideration in policy formulation. This suggests the need for a participatory approach.

6.3 Education Policy

Education is a more obviously 'sectoral' activity than nutrition, in the sense that responsibility for education is usually clearly located within one central government ministry or department, although some educational functions are often delegated to local governments. It thus illustrates the process of policy formulation within one of the main 'social sectors'.

The role of education in rural development

Like nutrition, education may be regarded as both an input into the development process and an outcome of it. As an input, it is - again like nutrition - both an objective in its own right and a means of achieving other objectives, notably the establishment of a skilled labour force and the creation of a generally educated and aware population, which in turn result in increased productivity, a reduction in the birth rate and therefore in the rate of population growth, increased awareness of human rights and responsibilities, a more enlightened electorate, and so on. And it is an outcome in the sense that both the quantity and quality of education available to an individual or a community depends on other factors, particularly the affluence of individual households and communities and of the nation as a whole, which is in turn dependent on the general level of economic development.

However, the relationship between education and other aspects of development is also complex. For example, education is not always beneficial to the general development of a nation. Its value depends on the extent to which the quantity, type and quality of education matches development needs. Many less developed countries have large numbers of unemployed school leavers who are reluctant to work on the land but cannot find non-agricultural employment, while at the same time industries, professions and government suffer from a lack of competent and/or qualified skilled manpower. The implications of this for agriculture were discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3) and illustrated by the example of the Gondwanaland vegetable garden project (Box 3.3). In other cases, the problem is that the education system is primarily a means of indoctrination rather than education, and so does little to create an educated and aware population.

Similarly, although access to education usually increases if there is an increase in wealth at household, community or national level, this is not always the case, since it also depends on the relative importance attached to education by the household, community or nation. For example, attitudes to education in general, and the education of girls in particular, vary significantly from one household to another and from one culture to another. And the proportion of national income allocated to education varies considerably from one country to another.

Data needs

In order to formulate education policy at district level, information is needed on both the supply of and demand for education. In other words, there is a need, on the one hand, to have data on existing and potential education facilities and, on the other hand, to know the number of people requiring education and the type of education needed.

The supply side data is generally relatively easy to obtain. As indicated in Chapter 5, district education offices usually keep reasonably good records, including information on the number and location of schools, the quality of buildings, the number of pupils by school, class and sex, the number of teachers and therefore the pupil:teacher ratio, school curriculum, performance in examinations, and so on. Moreover, education staff generally have some idea of the resources likely to be available for future expansion.

Data on demand tends to be somewhat more complex and more difficult to obtain. There are three main kinds of information needed.

Firstly, there is a need for quantitative data on the numbers of children eligible to attend various types or levels of education. For example, the number eligible to attend primary school can be determined by calculating the number of children of primary school age (see Box 5.3 for an example), while

the number eligible to attend secondary school can be calculated on the basis of the number completing primary school or (if entry to secondary school is restricted) meeting the necessary entrance requirements.

Secondly, there is a need for data on the geographical distribution of demand. This can best be obtained by locating educational facilities on a map and relating this to the distribution of population. Box 6.2 shows the distribution of population by village in Gondwanaland District (based on data collected in the District Census described in Box 5.4) and the location of secondary schools. The circles around the schools indicate their catchment areas, based on a policy that children should not have to travel more than 10 kilometres to secondary school. This map can therefore be used to calculate the proportion of the population living within 10 kilometres of a secondary school (which was one of the social indicators included in Boxes 3.2 and 5.1) and to indicate those parts of the district where the provision of secondary schools is inadequate because children have to travel more than 10 kilometres and, if necessary, the approximate numbers of people thus deprived. If detailed population data is not available, the numbers of people who do or do not live within the stipulated distance cannot be calculated, but the catchment 'circles' can still be used to indicate the geographical areas where provision is inadequate.

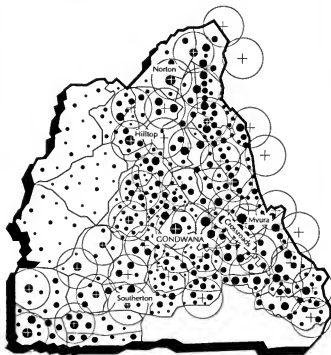
Thirdly, there is a need for information on the demand for skilled or educated manpower, in order to try to match education with manpower needs. This is the most difficult kind of data to obtain, especially at district level, since school leavers are likely to look for jobs outside the district as well as within it. Moreover, district planners may feel that there is little point in collecting such information if (as is usually the case) they have no power to either restrict school entry or change the curriculum on the basis of manpower needs. Nevertheless, it is generally possible - and useful - to obtain some information, albeit of a qualitative nature, on the scale of unemployment among school leavers in the district, the types of skills required by any major employers in the area, and the relevance of the curriculum to smallholder agricultural production and small-scale or informal non-agricultural income-earning opportunities.

Major policy issues

Once again there are many different policy issues which might be considered. However, since the aim here is to illustrate the types of issues involved rather than provide a comprehensive guide to educational policy, attention will be focused on four main policy areas:

BOX 6.2

GONDWANALAND: ACCESS TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS



KEY:

villages by population:

- 500
- 750
- 1000
- 1250
- 1500
- 2000
- 3000

- Ward boundary
- + Secondary school with 10 Km. radius catchment area

0 10 20 30 40 kms.

■ **The level of education:**

Education is usually categorised on the basis of 'level', the main levels being pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary and adult. Changes in the amount of resources devoted to any or all of these affect the impact of education on other aspects of development. For example, primary and adult education are seen primarily as a means of creating an educated and aware population, while secondary and tertiary education are directed more towards meeting the need for skilled manpower. The scope for district planners to influence the relative importance of these various levels of education is limited, since such decisions are generally considered part of national policy. However, they may be able to have some impact, particularly if they have some control over resources. For example, if they have control over funds to support the construction of school buildings, they can decide to, say, give higher priority to primary than secondary schools. Similarly, if there is a general rural development fund, this can be used to support adult education.

■ **Access to education:**

The total number of people in a district who have access to education as a whole, or to particular levels of education, is usually determined by the amount of resources available, which is often outside the control of the district. However, it is usually possible for planners at district level to have some influence over the distribution of education between different geographical areas and/or social groups within the district. For example, if the district has access to funds for the construction of school buildings, planners can compile a map such as that shown in Box 6.2 and recommend that priority be given to those areas where existing provision is inadequate. Similarly, if school enrolment figures suggest that the proportion of eligible boys who enter secondary school is higher than that of girls, it may be possible (if national policy does not prevent such a move) to require secondary schools to enrol a certain minimum quota of girls. Of course, in both cases the implementation of such policies may be frustrated by other factors. Thus, local politicians may reject or ignore the policy on geographical distribution (resulting in discrimination like that against the Hurda of Gondwanaland, described in Box 3.4), while many parents may refuse to send their daughters to secondary school, thus making it impossible to meet the quota.

■ **The quality of education:**

A major concern in many less developed countries is the poor quality of education, which is reflected in the standards of buildings and equipment, the qualifications and attitudes of teachers, and the performance of students. In most cases, this is due either to a rapid expansion of the scale of education at the expense of quality, or to lack of resources due to a general deterioration of the economy - and in some cases, to both. Once again, the scope for action at district level is limited, and dependent to a large extent on the amount of

control which the district has over education resources. However, there are usually some steps that can be taken at this level. For example, a district may improve the quality of buildings or equipment by using construction funds to improve existing buildings rather than construct new ones, soliciting funds from sympathetic donors or mobilizing community resources. And it may have some impact on teacher motivation by improving supervision and (if resources permit) organizing conferences or workshops.

■ **The relevance of education:**

Since the role of education in development depends to a large extent on its relevance, there is a need to adapt the content of educational programmes to meet development needs. Although this is again a matter primarily of national policy, there is some room for manoeuvre at district level, especially in the 'non-formal' education sector (which includes much adult education), where there is less concern about national curriculum and standards. Thus, in most countries there is nothing to prevent a district from establishing its own adult education programme, designed to meet its own development needs, provided it can obtain the resources necessary for doing so. And even in the formal part of the education system, it is usually possible to introduce some kind of local component into the curriculum. For example, local education staff could collaborate with the ministry of agriculture to provide relevant agricultural training in primary schools, or with the ministry of health to provide education on nutrition, AIDS or other health problems.

Box 6.3, which looks at the education policy for Gondwanaland District, illustrates the sorts of policy decisions about education which can be made at district level.

BOX 6.3

EDUCATION POLICY IN GONDWANALAND

The 1992-97 Gondwanaland District Five-Year Plan includes a policy statement on education. The policy reflects an attempt by the district to have some influence on education policy, despite the fact that most policy decisions are made at national level. The need for this arose from concern about a number of education-related problems in the district, including the deteriorating quality of education, the large numbers of unemployed school leavers, the reluctance of many school leavers to work on the land (compare the situation in Muriwana, described in Box 3.3), and the lessons learned from the Catholic Church's adult education activities in some parts of the district (see also Box 3.3).

--/--

Box 6.3 (cont.)

The main components of the district's education policy are:

- 1. New schools will be established only in areas which are, in the case of primary schools, more than 5 kilometres from the nearest school and, in the case of secondary schools (compare Box 6.2), more than 10 kilometres.*
- 2. Except in the above cases, capital funds for education will be used to improve the quality of existing facilities, including the rehabilitation of existing buildings, the construction of additional classrooms and teachers' houses, and the purchase of equipment.*
- 3. Local communities will be required to contribute at least 75% of the cost of the capital works covered under 1. and 2. above in the case of primary schools and at least 50% in the case of secondary schools. Contributions may be in cash or kind.*
- 4. All secondary schools will be required to admit equal numbers of boys and girls, provided that there are sufficient numbers of girls who meet the required entrance requirements.*
- 5. An 'Education for Life' component will be introduced into the last two years of the primary school curriculum. Its aim will be to make children aware of the unemployment problem and of potential income earning opportunities (agricultural and non-agricultural) in their home areas. It will be taught by agriculture and social science teachers, as an extension of their existing curricular activities. However, the teachers will work closely with local extension staff and members of the community. The project will be coordinated by the District Council, with assistance from an international NGO working in the area.*
- 6. The Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare will introduce pilot adult literacy projects, along the lines of those run by the Catholic Church, in five wards of the district. The projects will be organized by the ward community development workers, who will work with ward and village development committees, and the Catholic Church will provide some advice and assistance.*

The policy was formulated jointly by the Ministry of Education and the District Council's education staff, with inputs from other agencies (especially the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare) in the case of items 5 and 6.

Organizational implications

There are three main organizational factors which need to be considered in formulating education policy:

- The responsibility for education is often divided, as in Gondwanaland, between central and local government agencies, although there is a tendency for the national government to be responsible for most policy issues, while local governments are primarily implementing agencies. In such cases, it is important that both agencies are involved in policy formulation at district level and that, as far as possible, planning is undertaken jointly.
- Although education is not a multisectoral activity in the way that nutrition is, there is a need for education staff to involve other government agencies, and also the private sector, in policy formulation. This is particularly important in the case of decisions concerning the relevance of education. For example, they should, as already indicated, consult major employers to find out about specific manpower needs and collaborate with staff responsible for agriculture and health to provide relevant inputs into the curriculum.
- Finally, as in the case of nutrition, many factors which affect education are determined at household level, and in this case particularly by parents. For example, parents decide whether or not to send their children to school and whether to give priority to sons rather than daughters, and they influence the amount of support and encouragement in their schoolwork which the children get at home and their attitudes towards future employment. Consequently, it is important to understand and, where necessary and possible, influence parental behaviour, which in turn implies a participatory approach to planning.

6.4 Rural Water Supply Policy

Since water has many uses, the planning of rural water supplies is, like nutrition planning, most appropriately regarded as a multi-sectoral activity, although in many countries there is a specific central and /or local government agency responsible for the construction and maintenance of physical facilities. It is also an area where the social and economic objectives are particularly closely related.

The role of improved water supplies in rural development

The provision of a clean, reliable and accessible source of water is, like nutrition and education, both an input into the development process and an outcome of it. As an input, it contributes to development in many ways, both direct and indirect. By improving the quantity and quality of domestic water and reducing the time taken to collect it, it has a direct impact on the quality of life, results in better health (and therefore increased productivity and reductions in health costs) and releases labour for more directly productive purposes. And if the improved water source also provides water for productive purposes (such as irrigation, livestock watering or small-scale industry), or if it enables water from unimproved sources to be used for such purposes because it is no longer required for domestic use, it has an additional benefit in terms of economic production. And it is an outcome in that access to improved water supplies, as to education, depends on other dimensions of development, especially the affluence of the household or community concerned and of the nation as a whole.

However, as in the other two examples, the relationship between water supply and other aspects of development is complex, and not always positive. The anticipated health benefits will only occur if water is properly stored and used, while the anticipated benefits in terms of releasing labour for productive purposes will only materialize if there are alternative productive activities and if women (who are the main water carriers) choose to use the extra time in this way. Moreover, the provision of a new water source can create as well as solve health problems (for example, by increasing the incidence of malaria or bilharzia) and, if not properly managed, can cause erosion. Furthermore, and perhaps most important of all, improved water sources are only of benefit if they are operational. If, as is too often the case, the pump on a borehole breaks down and is not repaired promptly or a shallow well or small dam silts up, the community is in many respects worse off than it was before, because it had come to depend on the new source. For these and other reasons careful planning is essential.

Data needs

In order to formulate policy on rural water supplies, there is a need for data on existing water sources, both traditional and improved, and on existing and potential water use for both domestic and productive purposes. However, much of this data is somewhat difficult to obtain.

Information on existing improved supplies is usually relatively easily available, especially if there is an agency specifically responsible for construction and/or maintenance. However, even in this case it may be difficult to get accurate data, since records are not always kept up-to-date. For example, there is often no up-to-date information on how many supplies are actually in working order.

Information on traditional water sources and water use is considerably more difficult to obtain, because there are unlikely to be any records at district level. Consequently, it is usually necessary to visit individual communities to get detailed information. As is so often the case, individual household surveys usually provide the most reliable information. However, reasonably accurate and comprehensive data can often be obtained by using rapid appraisal techniques, including discussions with village leaders and groups of women, guided visits to water sources, and observation of water use at water sources and, if possible, in homesteads.

As in the case of education, it is useful to locate as many of the water sources as possible, especially the improved sources, on a map, in order to identify geographical variations in access to water as a basis for determining future priorities. It is also particularly important to understand the cultural aspects of water use, including traditional customs and taboos about the use of particular sources, rights of access to water, modes of cooperation for the purposes of managing water resources, and the role of women in fetching and using water and in making decisions about water use at household and community level.

Major policy issues

The following are some of the most important policy issues likely to be encountered in planning rural water supplies at district level. Most of them are issues which can be addressed at this level, especially if the district has some control over the resources used to construct and/or maintain water supplies.

■ **Alternative water uses:**

As already indicated, rural water supplies can be used for several different purposes, including both domestic use (drinking and washing) and various productive purposes (irrigation, livestock watering, construction, small scale industries, etc.). In order to make maximum use of the water itself, and the capital investment involved in making it available, each water source should be used for as many different purposes as possible. It should in particular be used for some sort of productive activity, as well as for domestic use, if at all possible. In many cases this sort of multiple use is not actively encouraged by governments, usually because the agency responsible for providing water for domestic purposes is different from that responsible for, say, agriculture or small businesses. However, it is also important to ensure that the various uses do not conflict with each other. For example, water should not be used for productive purposes if there will then be a shortage of water for domestic use or if it will cause pollution.

■ **Access to water:**

As with education, it is important that planners consider the distribution of water supplies between different geographical areas and between social groups. In order to ensure a fair geographical distribution it is necessary to prioritize areas on the basis of the need for improved water supplies, using the data on existing water sources discussed above. Ensuring a fair distribution between social groups is somewhat more difficult, since this depends to a large extent on the way that decisions about access to water are made within local communities. However, planners should avoid locating a water supply in a place where its use will be dominated by one of more members of the local elite. Moreover, the introduction of payments for water (which is discussed below) is also likely to restrict access for the poorer sectors of the community.

■ **Maintenance of water supplies:**

One of the biggest problems associated with the provision of improved water supplies is that of maintenance. In many countries a great deal of money has been spent on the provision of rural water supplies which, a few years later, are unusable because of lack of proper care and maintenance. This problem can be tackled by two interrelated measures. One is to decentralize the responsibility for maintenance as far as possible to the local community. This means appointing a committee and/or individual responsible for maintenance and providing the necessary training, equipment and back-up support. It also means that the community must regard the water supply as its own, rather than something belonging to government, which has implications in terms of planning which will be discussed in the next section on organizational implications. The other measure is to simplify and, as far as possible, standardize the technology used, in order to facilitate maintenance, especially by local communities.

■ **Paying for water:**

There is much debate among those involved in rural water supply planning about the advantages and disadvantages of introducing some sort of payment for rural water. Those in favour argue not only that it is necessary for governments to recoup at least part of the costs of providing water but also that people value the water supply more - and thus take better care of it - if they have to pay for it. And those against maintain that rural people are in general poorer than those in urban areas (especially in terms of cash income) and that (as indicated above) the poorest families would in effect be denied access to water if they had to pay for it. In many countries this is a matter of national rather than local policy. However, if a decision does have to be made at district level, those involved should consider the above advantages and disadvantages in the light of their own particular circumstances. Experience suggests that, if some sort of payment is to be levied, it is best

done at community level and used to support the maintenance work done by the community itself.

■ **Hygiene education:**

In order to maximize the potential health benefits from the provision of improved water supplies, there is a need for basic hygiene education, including methods of collecting and storing water for drinking purposes, protecting water sources from pollution, and constructing and using latrines. This is not something which can be done overnight; it requires a concerted effort over a long period of time, directed to all members of the community (and household) and undertaken by extension staff who have the respect and confidence of the local people.

Box 6.4 shows how some of these policy issues were addressed in Gondwanaland.

BOX 6.4

RURAL WATER SUPPLY POLICY IN GONDWANALAND

The Gondwanaland District Five-year Plan for 1992-97 includes a policy statement on rural water supply. This policy reflects a major change in direction at district level. In the past domestic water supplies have been constructed and maintained by the District Council, with very limited resources and without consultation with other central or local government agencies or any effective form of community involvement. Consequently, there are many areas without any form of improved supply and many others where the supply is unusable due to lack of maintenance. The new policy is being used as a basis for discussion with a prospective donor agency, in the hope of obtaining funds for a major programme of construction and rehabilitation.

The main components of the new water supply policy are:

- *Water supplies should be used for productive as well as domestic purposes, provided that sufficient water is available and the water will not be polluted. In order to facilitate this, troughs for watering livestock will be provided wherever feasible and agricultural extension staff will encourage the establishment of communal gardens near the water source.*

../. ..

Box 6.4 (cont.)

- *A survey of existing water sources will be undertaken by Council staff, using rapid appraisal methods, and the results will be used to determine priorities between areas on the basis of need.*
- *Local communities will be fully involved in the planning, construction and maintenance of water supplies. An improved supply will not be provided unless or until the user community has made a formal request and agreed to provide labour to assist in the construction, appoint a water use committee to look after the supply, and recruit a pumpminder who will be given basic maintenance training by the Council. These requirements will be fully explained to the communities before the programme starts.*
- *Special efforts will be made to involve women in the initial survey of needs and the pre-construction consultation programme and women will be encouraged but not forced to become members of water use committees.*
- *A limited range of simple technology will be used, the emphasis being on equipment which can be maintained as far as possible at community level and for which spare parts are easily available locally.*
- *A hygiene education programme will be initiated at the same time as the construction programme. A basic training package, similar to that for nutrition education (see Box 6.1) will be prepared by the Ministry of Health for use in schools and by health staff and community development workers. It will include material on the construction and use of latrines, the protection of water sources, the collection and storage of water, and the preparation of food.*

The policy was formulated by an inter-departmental committee, composed of representatives of the District Council and the Ministries responsible for Agriculture, Health and Community Development. The committee will be responsible for coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the policy, if donor funds are obtained.

Organizational implications

There are three main implications in terms of the organizational aspects of rural water supply planning:

- The formulation of policy on rural water supplies must be done on an inter-departmental basis, as in Gondwanaland, not solely by the agency responsible for the construction and/or maintenance of water supplies. It is particularly important that those agencies responsible for agriculture, health, education and community development are involved.
- Community participation in rural water supply planning is essential, partly in order to ensure that improved water sources meet local needs, but primarily to encourage a sense of community ownership and, therefore, responsibility for the proper use, care and maintenance of the water supply. Methods of community participation in this and other kinds of planning will be discussed in Chapter 9.
- Since women are almost always responsible for the collection and use of water for domestic purposes and often also for the use of water for small-scale irrigation or gardening, it is essential that women are fully involved in the planning process. This is not always easy, since most planners and extension workers are male and in many rural communities women are not expected or allowed to participate openly in community decision-making. It is therefore necessary to make special efforts to involve women, while at the same time taking care not to arouse too much resentment in the community by contravening local customs or conventions. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8, as part of a more general discussion on planning to meet the needs of rural women.

SUMMARY

The methodological issues and problems which arise when formulating social policy at district level are illustrated by looking at three specific policy areas:

Nutrition:

In order to improve nutrition, one must address the much wider problem of poverty, which is one of the main causes of malnutrition. It is also necessary to improve subsistence production, ensure that cash cropping does not have an adverse effect on nutrition, provide nutrition education, and be prepared to provide emergency food relief if required. Nutrition planning must be an inter-departmental activity and must involve local people.

Education:

When formulating education policy, it is necessary to consider the level of education, access to education by different geographical areas and social groups, the quality of education, and its relevance to local development needs. Although major policy decisions about all these issues tend to be made at national level, there is usually some room for manoeuvre at district level. Responsibility for education generally rests with one central and/or local government agency, but there is a need to involve other agencies and the local people in education planning.

Rural water supply:

When formulating policy on rural water supplies, there is a need to consider the use of water sources for both domestic and productive purposes, access to water by geographical area and social group, provisions for the maintenance of water supplies, the possibility of requiring people to contribute to the cost of water provision, and the need for hygiene education. Water supply planning must be an inter-departmental activity and community participation is essential in order to encourage a sense of ownership and therefore responsibility for maintenance. Since women are the main water-carriers and users, their involvement is critical.

RECOMMENDED READING

General

Hardiman, M. & J. Midgley, The Social Dimensions of Development, Chichester, Wiley, 1982 and MacPherson, S., Social Policy in the Third World, Brighton, Harvester, 1982. Both these books provide a general introduction to social policy issues in general and to specific policy areas, including health, education, housing and social welfare. However, they do not relate specifically to the district level.

Nutrition

FAO/WHO, Major Issues for Nutrition Strategies, Rome/Geneva, 1992. Series of eight papers prepared as background material for the joint FAO/WHO 1992 International Conference on Nutrition. Topics covered include food security, the role of nutrition in general development, and data collection.

Kielman, A.A., K. Janovsky & H. Annett, Assessing District Health Needs, Services and Systems, London, Macmillan (for African Medical and Research Foundation), 1991. Guide to rapid appraisal methods of obtaining basic data for health planning at district level. Includes section on measuring nutritional status, but also of more general value.

World Health Organization (WHO), Guidelines for Training Community Health Workers in Nutrition, Geneva, 1986. Useful manual on basic nutrition principles, designed specifically for extension trainers but also useful for district planners.

Education

International Institute for Educational Planning, various publications on education planning in developing countries, Paris, UNESCO.

Simmons, J. (ed.), The Education Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980s, Oxford, Pergamon, 1980. Draws on worldwide experience in previous decades and covers all the basic policy issues, although not focused specifically at district level.

See also the chapters on education in the two books on social policy cited under the 'General' heading.

Rural water supply

UNICEF, UNICEF Programme Guidelines: Vol. 3 Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene, New York, 1988. Guidelines for the planning and implementation of UNICEF water and sanitation projects; covers most basic policy issues. UNICEF plays an important role in rural water supply provision and is an advocate of community involvement.

White, A., Community Participation in Water and Sanitation: Concepts, Strategies and Methods, The Hague, IRC International Water & Sanitation Centre, 1981. One of many useful publications by the Centre. Covers most aspects of community participation in rural water supply provision.

CHAPTER 7

ASSESSING SOCIAL COSTS AND BENEFITS

- 7.1 Why assess social costs and benefits ?
- 7.2 Types of social costs and benefits
- 7.3 Measuring social costs and benefits
- 7.4 Comparing social and economic costs and benefits
- 7.5 The politics of social appraisal

This chapter examines ways of assessing the social costs and benefits of projects and programmes, as part of the wider process of project or programme appraisal. It begins by looking at the need for project appraisal in general and the assessment of social costs and benefits in particular, and then considers the types of social costs and benefits likely to occur, ways of measuring them, and ways of comparing them with economic costs and benefits. It concludes by looking at the politics of project appraisal. Three examples from Gondwanaland District are used to illustrate the various points made.

CHAPTER 7

ASSESSING SOCIAL COSTS AND BENEFITS

7.1 Why Assess Social Costs and Benefits?

Chapter 6 was concerned with that part of the planning process which involves the formulation of broad policies or strategies. This chapter focuses on the next part of the process, that of identifying and appraising specific projects or programmes which will help to implement these policies or strategies. The terms 'project' and 'programme' are used more or less interchangeably in this chapter, since the basic methodological issues under discussion apply to both projects and programmes and the term 'project appraisal' is generally used to apply to both. However, in order to avoid confusion it may be useful to explain how they differ. Although there is no standard definition of either term, the word 'project' generally implies a more discrete and/or limited activity or set of activities than the word 'programme' and a more specific physical identity and/or geographical location.

Project appraisal is the process of assessing the anticipated costs and benefits of proposed projects or programmes as a basis for making investment decisions. More specifically, project appraisal has three main functions:

- to help decide whether or not to go ahead with a particular project or programme;
- to compare the advantages and disadvantages of two or more alternative ways of achieving a particular objective; and
- to rank a number of different project or programme proposals, designed to achieve different objectives, in order of priority for investment.

Boxes 7.1-7.3 present examples of each of these three functions from Gondwanaland District. Box 7.1 describes the process of appraising a proposal to develop the coal reserves in the extreme western part of the district. Box 7.2 compares three possible ways of controlling flooding in the Mvura valley. And Box 7.3 focuses on the criteria used to prioritize applications for Rural Development Fund (RDF) support.

Project appraisal is one of the most important components of planning and probably the one that has received the most attention, particularly from economists. It is thus a vast topic on which there are many textbooks and manuals. This chapter therefore focuses only on the social aspects of project

appraisal. The aim is to indicate the kinds of social issues which need to be taken into consideration and to suggest ways in which this might be done, bearing in mind the limited skills and resources likely to be available for project appraisal at district level. It is assumed that the reader either already has a basic knowledge of project appraisal techniques or has access to other sources of information thereon if or when the need arises.

The social aspects of project appraisal are often neglected. The main reason for this is that project appraisals are generally undertaken by and for economists and the main concern is to justify the financial costs of the investment. Consequently, attention is focused on the economic costs and benefits. Social considerations tend to be ignored either because they appear to have no financial implications or because their financial implications are so indirect or obscure that they cannot be calculated in any meaningful way. However, as indicated in Chapter 3, it is now generally recognized by economists that the social (and also the environmental) implications of projects must be taken into consideration, in order to ensure that social benefits are maximized and social costs minimized and to identify any social constraints which may hamper the implementation process.

7.2 Types of Social Costs and Benefits

Social costs and benefits are costs or benefits related to any of the issues or activities defined as 'social' in Chapter 2, notably:

- the social characteristics of an area or society;
- the overall quality of life;
- availability of and access to social services; and
- social justice.

As with other aspects of social planning, it is not always possible to draw a clear line between social and economic costs or benefits. For example, an increase in household income is generally regarded as an economic benefit and therefore included in the economic aspects of project appraisal. However, it also has an important impact on the quality of life in general, including such things as nutrition, access to social services, availability and use of leisure time and freedom of choice, which are generally regarded as being of 'social' rather than 'economic' significance. One implication of this is the need for the economic and social aspects of project appraisal to be closely related.

The best way of demonstrating the nature of social costs and benefits and their relationship to those of an economic nature is to look at the three examples from Gondwanaland described in Boxes 7.1-7.3.

Box 7.1 describes a study of the likely social impact of the proposed coal mine (known as the Senda coal mine) in the extreme western part of the district, which was commissioned by the Government of New Kolonia as part of a comprehensive appraisal of the project. The study suggested that the mine would have both positive and negative effects on the local population. The positive effects would include employment opportunities, improved access (since a new road would have to be built to link the mine to the main trunk road), a market for local produce (such as vegetables), improved social services (provided that local people would be allowed to use the mine facilities) and royalty payments (which would be paid to the District Council and thus presumably used to benefit the district in some way or other). However, many of these benefits would not accrue to the Hurda people, who live in the immediate project area. For example, few of them would be able to take up the employment or market opportunities and, given the character of local politics in the district, they would probably see little if any benefit from the royalty payments. The main beneficiaries would be people from other parts of the district and possibly also neighbouring districts. Moreover, the traditional life of the Hurda would be disrupted by the influx of people from outside the area and the fact that they would no longer have access to the land on which the mine would be built, which was important as a dry season grazing area and contained a number of sacred places.

BOX 7.1

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROPOSED SENDA COAL MINE

Background

In 1991 the Government of New Kolonia decided to explore the feasibility of developing the coal reserves in the Senda hills, in the extreme western part of Zone V of Gondwanaland District (see Map 2 in Chapter 2), to supply the industrial city of Omega, which lies about 275 kilometres northwest of the coal deposits. In the past the Senda deposits had not been considered because there were much more accessible coal reserves near Omega, but these were now becoming exhausted and so an alternative source of supply would soon be needed. A multinational mining company, Global Exploits Ltd., was interested in developing the Senda mine as a joint venture with the Government. The Gondawana District Council and local MPs were in support of the idea, especially since the Council would be entitled to royalties from the mine.

An initial feasibility study was undertaken by Global Exploits in 1992. This focused on the mine's financial viability, and included a preliminary assessment of the costs of constructing infrastructure at the mine site and a road to link the area with the main trunk road from Alpha to Omega (see Map 1 in the Annexe). The results were sufficiently encouraging to warrant a full appraisal, and the Government insisted that this should include an assessment of the likely social and environmental, as well as economic, impact of the mine.

The social impact study

A consultant sociologist from the University of New Kolonia, who was familiar with the Hurda people in the project area, was commissioned to undertake the social impact study. Her terms of reference were to:

- 1. assess the likely benefits and costs to people in the immediate vicinity of the mine and in a wider area;*
- 2. identify any social factors which may hamper project implementation; and*
- 3. recommend ways of maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs identified under (1) and reducing or eliminating the impact of the factors identified under (2).*

../..

Box 7.1 (cont.)

Anticipated social implications

The main findings of the study were as follows:

- *The impact on the people in the wider project area, which included much of Gondwanaland District and neighbouring parts of the two districts to the north and west, would be generally positive. The main benefits would be employment, improved road access, markets for local produce (eg. vegetables), and (in the case of Gondwanaland) benefits from the use of royalty payments.*
- *The impact on the Hurda people in the immediate vicinity of the mine would be mainly negative. Because of their lack of education and limited agricultural production, they would not be in a position to benefit significantly from the provision of employment or markets, except possibly from the sale of traditional craftwork, and because of their lack of political influence at district level, they would be unlikely to benefit from the royalty payments. Moreover, they would lose access to the land on which the mine would be located, which (being the wettest part of the area) is an important dry season grazing area and also contains a number of sacred sites, and the intrusion of the mine, together with large numbers of workers from outside the area, would disrupt their traditional social life. The most likely benefits would be the road, which would at least facilitate the distribution of drought relief food, and their possible access to social facilities (eg. schools, hospital) at the mine site.*
- *There would be a risk that the implementation of the project would be hampered by conflicts between the Hurda and the 'foreign' workers, which might possibly lead to physical acts of sabotage by the Hurda. There would probably also be protests from the two neighbouring districts about the fact that royalties were paid only to Gondwanaland, and conflicts within Gondwanaland about the use of the royalties.*
- *The consultant recommended that, if the project went ahead, the following measures should be taken:*
 - (1) *The access road should go through Zone V and the northern part of Zone III, in order to maximize the benefits in terms of local access.*

--/..

Box 7.1 (cont.)

- (2) *Those Hurda wishing to stay in the area and benefit from it should be assisted to do so by the District Council, and those wishing to leave should be found alternative grazing in the neighbouring district.*
- (3) *The social facilities at the mine should be open to the general public.*
- (4) *The usual rate of royalty payment should be increased because of the unusual degree of social disruption which the mine would create, on condition that the District Council spent a fixed percentage of the payment each year in Zone V.*
- (5) *A liaison committee should be established, comprising officials of the mining company, the District Secretaries of the three districts concerned, a representative of the District Council, and the councillors of the wards directly affected by the mine.*

Box 7.2 compares three alternative methods of controlling flooding in the Mvura valley: the construction of a dam in the northern part of Zone I to control the flow of water in the river; the construction of embankments or 'levees' along the banks of the river at those points where flooding is most likely to occur; and protective measures by individual farmers, including the construction of small embankments and drainage ditches around fields and the relocation of houses. From a social point of view, the construction of levees would be the best option, since it would achieve the desired objective without any social costs. The other two options would both have significant social costs; the dam would displace large numbers of people, while the third option would require a great deal of effort by individual farmers and would only be effective if all or most farmers cooperated.

BOX 7.2

ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF FLOOD CONTROL IN THE MVURA VALLEY

Background

Flooding of the Mvura river is a major problem in Zone 1. In 1992 there was a particularly serious flood, in which ten people died and there was widespread loss of crops and property. The Gondwanaland District Development Committee then decided that something must be done. A task force composed of the representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Public Works, and Energy and Water Resources (which does not have an office at district level but sent a representative from the regional office) and the District Council was set up to consider alternative ways of tackling the problem.

The alternatives

The Task Force identified three possible alternatives:

- Construction of a dam in the north of the zone to control the flow of water into the lower stretches of the river.
- Construction of embankments or 'levees' along those banks of the river which were most often breached by flood waters.
- Improved on-farm flood control measures (eg. construction of small embankments and drainage ditches) by individual farmers.

Comparing the alternatives

The three alternatives were compared on the basis of the following criteria: effectiveness in terms of flood control; financial costs (capital and recurrent); immediate social costs; secondary costs and benefits; and implementability. The findings suggested that:

../-

Box 7.2 (cont.)

- *The dam would be the most effective means of flood control, and would also have secondary benefits in terms of possible alternative uses of the water. However, the capital costs of building a dam high enough to provide adequate control would be prohibitive in terms of the resources likely to be available and there would be major social costs, in that several hundred people would be displaced by the reservoir and, apart from the social disruption that this would cause, it would be difficult and costly to provide land to resettle them. Furthermore, the secondary benefits were not considered very important, since access to water is not a problem in the area.*
- *The construction of levees would be almost as effective in terms of flood control and would have no social costs. The capital costs would still be high and there would be some recurrent costs in terms of maintaining the levees. However, the capital costs would be significantly less than for the dam and both capital and recurrent costs could be considerably reduced if community labour was used.*
- *On-farm flood control measures would be the cheapest form of control, at least in terms of public expenditure, since the work would be done by individual farmers. One could also argue that it would have the benefit of giving the farmers more control over their own lives. However, it would be the least effective means of control, even if all farmers cooperated to the full, and if even a small number of farmers failed to adopt the measures, the impact would be very limited. Moreover, the labour costs to the farmers would be very high.*

On the basis of these findings, the Task Force recommended that the DDC apply to the central Government for funds to assist in the construction of levees, on the understanding that the local communities would also make a contribution in terms of free labour. If this request failed, they would have to try the third option, but they were not confident about its success.

Box 7.3 lists the criteria which the Social Development Sub-Committee of the Gondwanaland District Development Committee (DDC) decided to use to ensure that social factors are taken into account in planning and prioritizing RDF projects. The criteria include the anticipated impact of the project on various social factors (including income, health, access to social services, inequalities between areas and households, and the position of women and any other disadvantaged groups), the relevance of the project to existing social policies (national or district), any social constraints which may hamper project implementation, and the degree of community participation in planning the project. Every application for RDF support is required to include information on all these issues. Since this list was designed to be applicable to any RDF application, it is a fairly comprehensive inventory of the kinds of social factors which need to be taken into consideration in project appraisal.

BOX 7.3

SOCIAL CRITERIA FOR THE APPRAISAL OF RDF APPLICATIONS

Box 4.1 (Chapter 4, page 74) described how the Gondwanaland District Development Committee established a Social Development Sub-Committee and decided that its first task should be to prepare a check-list of questions on the social impact of proposed Rural Development Fund (RDF) projects. These questions would be incorporated into the basic RDF application form and the information thus obtained would be used by the DDC to appraise and prioritize applications. Prior to this move, the appraisal of RDF projects had been based almost entirely on economic criteria.

The following are the questions which the Sub-Committee decided to include:

■ **Social impact**

1. *Approximately how many people are likely to: (i) benefit from the project; and (ii) suffer adverse effects from it?*
2. *What positive and/or negative effects is the project likely to have on the following:*

../..

Box 7.3 (cont.)

- (i) household income;
- (ii) health;
- (iii) access to social services;
- (iv) other aspects of the quality of life;
- (v) inequalities between different parts of the district;
- (vi) inequalities between households;
- (vii) position of women;
- (viii) position of any other disadvantaged group.

■ **Relevance to existing social policy**

3. *Is the project either in line with or in conflict with any existing national or district policy on the social aspects of development? If so, give details.*

(Note: This question would be included in a general section on relevance to existing policy.)

■ **Possible social constraints**

4. *Is project implementation likely to be:*

- (i) *hampered by religious or other cultural beliefs, practices, etc.; and/or*
- (ii) *'hijacked' by elite groups?*

If so, give details and indicate what measures will be taken to reduce or eliminate these constraints.

(Note: This question would be included in a general section on project implementability.)

■ **Popular participation**

5. *To what extent have (i) local leaders and (ii) other members of the community been involved in the planning of the project?*
6. *Is project implementation dependent on cooperative rather than individual effort? If so, give details and explain what steps have or will be taken to ensure that this is feasible.*

7.3 Measuring Social Costs and Benefits

The measurement of social costs and benefits is no more - and no less - than a form of data collection. Consequently, the methods used, and the problems which tend to arise, are no different from those already discussed in Chapter 5. The best way to illustrate this is to take each of the three examples from Gondwanaland and consider how one would measure the costs and benefits in each case.

1. *The Senda coal mine*

Box 7.4 gives some indication of how the social impact study of the proposed Senda coal mine was undertaken. Since this was a large project, initiated by the central government rather than the district, the appraisal was commissioned by the central government and undertaken by a consultant with appropriate professional expertise. However, the methods of data collection and analysis used by the consultant were no different to those that might be used by district planners for local planning purposes. The main problem in doing this particular study at district level would be the fact that, because of the project's location, it was necessary to get data from three different districts.

Both primary and secondary data were collected. The main source of primary data was interviews with key people, including staff of the mining company, central and local government officials, and community leaders in the immediate vicinity of the mine site, while secondary data sources included published statistics (eg. census reports), government records, relevant literature and the consultant's own prior knowledge of the area and people.

The most difficult aspect of this sort of study is to predict how people will react to the proposed innovation. In this case, the consultant collected relevant information on existing economic and social factors (eg. unemployment, relevant qualifications or work experience, agricultural production, responses to other types of innovation) and asked officials and community leaders how they thought people would react. It was on this basis that she reached the conclusion that the main beneficiaries would not be the Hurda but people from further afield.

BOX 7.4

COLLECTING DATA FOR THE SENDA SOCIAL IMPACT STUDY

Box 7.1 described the terms of reference and findings of the social impact study of the proposed Senda coal mine. This box describes the type of data which was required for the study and the ways in which it was obtained.

Data requirements

- *Information on the proposed coal mine, including its location, the amount of land which would be affected, the number and type of employees anticipated, the number of people who would be resident at the mine site, the proposed route(s) of the access road, and the social facilities to be provided at the site.*
- *Information on the number of Hurda in the immediate project area, their education and lifestyles, and their attitudes towards the proposed mine.*
- *Information on the number of people in Gondwanaland and neighbouring districts who would be likely to be affected in some way by the mine, their level of education and current employment status, their production of crops or other produce which might be saleable to the mine, and their likely attitudes to the mine.*
- *Information on the procedures regarding royalty payments and any other possible benefits likely to accrue to the local population.*
- *Information on the attitudes of the District Councils of the three districts affected.*
- *Information on the social costs and benefits of other projects of this kind, in New Kolonia and elsewhere, and any relevant attempts to maximize the benefits and/or reduce the costs.*

..//..

Box 7.4 (cont.)

Sources of data

(a) Secondary data

- *Reports of the 1988 Gondwanaland District Census and the 1990 National Population Census.*
- *Records and reports from district offices of the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources and Education.*
- *Published books, articles and reports on the Hurda.*
- *Published books, articles and reports on the social impact of similar projects, including other social impact studies.*
- *The consultant's existing knowledge of the area.*

(b) Primary data

- *Interviews with officials of the mining company, Global Exploits.*
- *Interviews with government and council officials and council chairpersons in the three districts.*
- *Interviews with officers of the Ministry of Mines at national level.*
- *Interviews with the councillors of the wards immediately affected by the mine.*
- *Visits to three Hurda communities in the immediate vicinity of the mine, during which information on current lifestyles and attitudes to the proposed mine was obtained from meetings with both community leaders and ordinary people and from general observation.*

2. *Flood control in the Mvura valley*

Box 7.5 describes how the information needed to compare the three possible methods of flood control was obtained. In this case, the appraisal was undertaken by the district, although it was necessary to involve a provincial representative of the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources because the ministry was not represented at district level. It should be noted that information on economic costs and benefits has been included in this example, in order to show how the final decision took account of both social and economic factors. The process of making such decisions is discussed in section 7.4.

Since in this kind of project appraisal one is comparing three different project proposals, three different sets of information are required. However, it is important that the three different sets are as far as possible comparable, since the purpose of the comparison is to decide which is the best way of achieving the project objective. In this case, the information needed on financial costs and effectiveness in terms of flood control was much the same for each option, thus facilitating both data collection and subsequent comparison. But the information needed on secondary benefits and social costs was more complex because both benefits and costs vary widely from one option to another. This complicates the process of data collection, because one has to ensure that all possible benefits and costs have been considered, and (as we shall see in section 7.4) it also makes it more difficult to compare the three options.

As in the coal mine study, both primary and secondary data were used. Primary data included information on the actual financial costs of construction and maintenance in all three options, the feasibility of resettling people displaced by the dam in option 1, and the likelihood of farmers adopting the individual flood control measures required in option 3. The third of these would probably be the most difficult to collect because again it involves predicting people's reactions. However, it is also one of the most important pieces of information, because the feasibility of option 3 is dependent on it. In this case, the information was collected by agricultural extension staff, using participant observation methods. Secondary data included experience with the three methods of flood control in other parts of the country, population data in the case of option 1, and general knowledge about farming systems and farmer attitudes in the area.

BOX 7.5

COLLECTING DATA ON ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF FLOOD CONTROL

Box 7.2 described the three alternative methods of flood control in the Mvura valley which the Task Force considered and their findings regarding the costs and benefits of each. This box looks at the data which was needed to compare the three alternatives and the sources of this data.

Data requirements

- *Estimates of the financial costs of each alternative, including both capital and recurrent costs.*
- *Information on the likely effectiveness of each of the three alternatives in terms of flood control.*
- *Information on the area which would be flooded by the dam, the number of people who would have to be resettled, the cost and feasibility of resettling them, and their attitudes to the possibility of resettlement.*
- *Information on the possible use of the water from the dam for agricultural or other productive purposes.*
- *Information on the feasibility of using communal labour to help construct the levees, including the degree of skill involved, logistical implications, and the amount of labour which local communities would be willing to provide and the times that they would be able to provide it.*
- *Information on the feasibility of on-farm flood control measures by individual farmers, including the cost in terms of time to the farmers, their capacity and willingness to do the work, and the amount of supervision which would be required.*

Sources of data

(a) Secondary data

- *Reports of the 1988 Gondwanaland District Census and the 1990 National Population Census.*

--/--

Box 7.5 (cont.)

- *Reports by the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources and Energy and Water Resources on the costs and benefits of similar attempts at flood control lower down the Mvura river.*
- *Preliminary information on farming systems in Zone I from the District Agricultural Officer's rapid rural appraisal of farming systems (see Box 5.6), which was by then nearing completion.*
- *General knowledge of farmer attitudes and behaviour.*

(b) Primary data

- *Collection of data on construction costs in order to estimate the financial costs of constructing and maintaining the dam and levees.*
- *Interviews with the District Secretary and Council officials on the feasibility of resettlement.*
- *Interviews with councillors from the area which would be flooded to assess their attitudes to the possibility of resettlement.*
- *Interviews with councillors from all affected wards to assess their attitudes to: (i) the provision of labour for the construction and maintenance of levees; and (ii) the capacity and willingness of farmers to adopt on-farm control measures.*
- *A visit to an area further down the river where an attempt had been made to organize farmers to adopt on-farm control measures.*

3. *Prioritization of RDF applications*

Box 7.6 reproduces some guidelines issued by the Social Development Sub-Committee to help people to provide the information required about the anticipated social implications of proposed RDF projects. The Sub-Committee recognized that the people preparing the project applications would have neither the skills nor the time to undertake a comprehensive or detailed project appraisal. Their aim was merely to ensure that, firstly, social factors were given some consideration in the early stages of planning RDF projects and, secondly, there was sufficient information on social factors to enable them to be taken into account in prioritizing applications. Therefore, the emphasis is on simple information, which can be obtained quickly and easily, either from secondary sources or by a very rudimentary form of primary data collection. In some cases, it is not actually necessary to collect data to 'prove' that an anticipated cost or benefit is likely to occur because its occurrence is widely accepted as part of general knowledge about rural development. For example, in the case of rural water supplies, it can be assumed that the provision of an improved supply will have a positive impact on health, provided that basic principles of hygiene are practised and the supply is kept in good working order.

BOX 7.6

GUIDELINES FOR THE COLLECTION OF DATA ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSED RDF PROJECTS

The Social Development Sub-Committee of the Gondwanaland DDC issued the following guidelines to help people answer the questions on the social implications of proposed Rural Development Projects reproduced in Box 7.3.

■ **Social impact**

Qu. 1: *Identify the area likely to be affected by the project and then use data from the 1988 District Census or the 1990 National Census to estimate the total number of people involved. Then make a rough estimate of the number of these likely to benefit positively and negatively; it will probably be easier to do this after answering Qu.2.*

Qu. 2: *It is not necessary to give precise answers to this question. It should be possible to answer most sections from your general knowledge of the type of project concerned and the project* .../..

Box 7.6 (cont.)

area. However, in some cases, you may need to do some simple research (eg. look for information on other similar projects; interview appropriate people in the project area to find out about existing conditions; collect information from district level to compare the project area with other parts of the district). Look out for indications of less obvious effects or 'side effects'.

■ **Relevance to existing policies**

Qu. 3: Refer to the Fourth National Five-Year Development Plan and the 1992-97 Gondwanaland District Five-Year Plan for information on existing policies.

■ **Possible social constraints**

Qu. 4: Your general knowledge of the project area should enable you to answer this question. If it does not, talk to other people who are familiar with the area and/or have undertaken similar projects there. It is essential to think about these constraints before the project starts, rather than afterwards. Bear in mind that the way in which you involve the local community can increase or decrease the likelihood of such problems. For example, if you discuss the project design in detail with those involved, you are likely to uncover many of the cultural constraints; and if you involve as many people as possible, not just the obvious leaders, the project is less likely to be 'hijacked'. Hence the importance of Qu.5 below.

■ **Popular participation**

Qu. 5: Remember that extensive consultation is necessary to ensure that the project is designed to meet local needs and conditions, to identify any likely constraints (see Qu.4 above), and to ensure that people are committed to it. It is important to involve all those sectors of the community likely to be affected, and to make a special effort to involve disadvantaged groups or those whose views will not be represented by local leaders.

Qu. 6: If the project involves cooperative effort, look for examples of existing cooperative activity (traditional or introduced) in the project area, or of similar cooperative projects in other areas, in order to identify likely problems and possible ways of tackling them.

In conclusion, it should be noted that, although this chapter is concerned primarily with the appraisal of project proposals, the measurement of social costs and benefits is also part of the process of project evaluation. The difference, of course, is that when it comes to evaluation one is concerned with actual costs and benefits, while at the appraisal stage one can do no more than anticipate the costs and benefits which are likely to occur. Ideally, the two stages should be related. Thus the initial project appraisal should provide baseline data from which to later evaluate the impact and indicate the types of costs and benefits which should be considered in the evaluation stage, while the project evaluation should indicate the extent to which the anticipated costs and benefits actually occurred.

7.4 Comparing Social and Economic Costs and Benefits

Once the anticipated social costs and benefits of a proposed project or programme have been assessed, they have to be compared with other costs and benefits, and in particular with the economic costs and benefits which generally constitute the 'core' of a project appraisal exercise. This is often the most difficult part of social impact assessment, and (as already indicated) it is one of the reasons why the social implications of a project or programme are often ignored.

Integrating social and economic appraisal data

The integration of social and economic appraisal data does not always present a problem. It all depends on the form in which the data on social costs and benefits is presented. Economic data is normally presented in monetary terms, the aim being to compare the monetary costs and benefits of the proposed project or programme. Some kinds of social data are normally presented in monetary form, thus enabling direct comparisons to be made; moreover, in some cases the same data can be used to indicate both social and economic costs or benefits. The most obvious example is data on household income, which is an important economic indicator in its own right but also indicates potential social effects, since any increase in income may be used to achieve social benefits. In this case, information on actual and potential household expenditure patterns is really needed to assess both the economic and the social implications of an increase (or decrease) in household income.

However, many kinds of social data are not normally presented in monetary form and so cannot be easily incorporated into a conventional economic cost-benefit analysis. There are then two main options available to the planner.

Conversion of social data into monetary terms

One option is to convert the social data into monetary terms. Let us take the example of flood control in the Mvura Valley described in Box 7.2 on page 151 and 152. In order to justify any sort of flood control measures it would be necessary to assess the benefits gained by controlling flooding. In this case, the benefits would be the savings in terms of the crops and property which would frequently have been destroyed by flooding and the lives which would occasionally have been lost.

Preventing the destruction of crops and property obviously has economic benefits, the monetary value of which may be calculated on the basis of the potential sale value of the crops and the replacement value of the property. The economic benefits of preventing the loss of life are somewhat more obscure. Nevertheless, economists often try to calculate the monetary value of saving lives on the basis of a combination of the loss of future productive labour (which may be calculated in terms of average wage rates) and the waste of previous investment in the persons concerned (for example, in the form of education). On this basis, the most 'valuable' people are those who have completed tertiary education and are about to start work.

However, in both cases there are also social benefits. Thus one can argue that the destruction of crops and property causes social distress as well as financial loss, and it is widely accepted that saving lives has certain 'non-economic' benefits which have to be taken into consideration. Although it is impossible to assess the value of these benefits in precise monetary terms, one can increase the estimated monetary value of the economic benefits by an amount which reflects their importance. This practice is frequently adopted in courts of law when calculating the amount of compensation which should be paid in cases of loss of life or property.

This example demonstrates two important points about this sort of cost-benefit analysis. One is the complex inter-relationship between economic and social costs or benefits. In examples like this it becomes difficult to distinguish between the two - a point which economists sometimes use to argue that all significant costs and benefits can be reduced to monetary terms if necessary. The other, and perhaps more important, point is that so many assumptions are made in calculating the monetary value of both the economic and the social costs and benefits, that any conclusions drawn from the data have to be treated very cautiously. In other words, it is not only social data which is difficult to express accurately in monetary terms. For this reason, it is not uncommon for two (or more) economic appraisals of a proposed project to reach very different conclusions about the project's feasibility because they have taken account of different factors and/or attached different monetary values to those factors.

Accounting for different criteria in investment decisions

The alternative way of dealing with social data which is not normally presented in monetary form - and with economic data which is difficult to express accurately in monetary terms - is to broaden the basis of the project appraisal. Instead of trying to reduce all costs and benefits to monetary values, only those which can be easily and accurately expressed in this way are included in the financial cost-benefit analysis. The other costs and benefits are then presented as additional data which must also be taken into consideration when determining the feasibility of the project or programme concerned. In other words, investment decisions are made on the basis of a number of different criteria, of which financial viability is one - but not the only one. This is generally the most practicable approach for district planning purposes, since district planners seldom have the data, time or skills needed to undertake the type of complex economic analysis discussed above. Moreover, because of the many assumptions which have to be made in such analyses, it is often also the most accurate method. It is the approach adopted in the three examples described in Boxes 7.1-7.3.

The main problem associated with this approach is that one still has to decide how much importance, or 'weight' to attach to each kind of data. There is no standard system of weighting which can be used. For example, it is not possible to say that social factors should always be given more or less importance than economic factors, or that any particular social or economic factor is always more important than another. It is necessary to look at each case (or set of cases) individually, and in each one to decide how much importance should be attached to each criteria.

The decision will depend partly on practical factors. For example, if the funds available for investment are limited or if the project must break even financially, one could not consider a project which would cost more or make a loss, even if it would have enormous economic or social benefit. Similarly, if a project is likely to be financially profitable but to cause serious social or political disruption, it will probably also be rejected. This is illustrated by the example of flood control described in Box 7.2. In this example, the dam would be the most effective means of flood control but it was rejected because it was both prohibitively expensive and likely to cause an unacceptable degree of social disruption.

Policy to guide decision-making

However, in many cases the decision is not so obvious, and will depend on the relative importance attached to the various criteria by the people making the decision. For example, in the case of the Senda coal mine described in Box 7.1, the decision on whether or not to go ahead with the mine will depend on the importance which those making the decisions attach to the social needs and rights of the Hurda. In such cases, it is useful to have some sort of policy or strategy to guide decision-making. This is why, in the prioritization of RDF projects described in Box 7.3, one of the questions which applicants are required to answer is whether the project is in line with national or district policy. Without such policies, decisions will depend very much on the personal whims or ideological persuasions of those making the decisions - or on personal political interests, a factor which will be considered in the last section of this chapter. In the case of the Senda coal mine, the project will probably go ahead if it is financially viable, since (like all countries engaged in structural adjustment programmes) New Kolonia is likely to give high priority to productive projects such as this, especially if, as in this case, the social costs only affect a small minority of the population.

Example of criteria for project prioritization

It is also possible to have a more general policy on the relative importance of the various factors involved which can be applied to a number of projects, provided that these projects are sufficiently similar to apply the same criteria to each. Box 7.7 illustrates this. It describes the system introduced by the Gondwanaland DDC to prioritize RDF applications. In this example; eight kinds of factors are included: financial viability, economic impact, social impact, environmental impact, relevance to existing policy, implementation constraints, popular participation, and political implications. Each project is given a score for each, using the information on the application forms; these scores are then weighted on the basis of a predetermined formula which indicates the relative importance of the various factors; and the final project scores are then calculated and the projects ranked accordingly.

Finally, it should be noted that if, for whatever reason, a decision is based on economic rather than social criteria, it may still be possible to mitigate the undesirable social consequences. This is presumably why in the case of the coal mine the social consultant was asked to recommend how the project might be implemented in a way that would maximize social benefits and reduce social costs. Her recommendations suggest how this can be done.

BOX 7.7

PRIORITIZING RDF PROJECT APPLICATIONS

When the Gondwanaland District Development Committee introduced social as well as economic criteria for appraising Rural Development Fund applications (see Box 7.3), it became necessary to introduce a system for prioritizing applications according to the various different criteria. The system they adopted has three main components:

1. The criteria

They decided that prioritization would be based on the following eight factors or criteria:

- 1. Financial viability*
- 2. Economic impact*
- 3. Social impact*
- 4. Environmental impact*
- 5. Relevance to existing policy*
- 6. Implementation constraints*
- 7. Popular participation*
- 8. Political implications.*

2. The weighting system

It was necessary to decide whether all the criteria were equally important. After much heated debate it was decided that two of them were more important than the others. These were financial viability and implementation constraints. They were selected because it was felt that there was no point in approving a project which was not financially viable, or one in which there were so many constraints that it was not implementable. These two criteria are therefore given a double weighting.

3. The scoring system

Finally, there has to be a system for giving a 'score' to each project application on the basis of the weighted criteria, so that they can actually be prioritized. The system adopted involves four stages:

- *Each project is awarded a score on a scale of 1 to 10 for each of the eight criteria, using the information on the applications forms.*

../..

Box 7.7 (cont.)

- *The scores for financial viability and implementation constraints are doubled to reflect their additional importance.*
- *The total score for each project is added, the maximum possible score being 100.*
- *All projects are ranked in order of priority on the basis of their total scores.*

7.5 The Politics of Project Appraisal

Project appraisal is, like any other aspect of planning, subject to political influence. In fact, the most blatant forms of political influence tend to involve decisions about project prioritization, since projects are the most visible way in which politicians can demonstrate their power and prove their worth to their constituents. Some readers of these Guidelines may even feel that there is little point in thinking about ways of appraising economic, social or any other costs and benefits, since decisions are almost inevitably made on a political basis. They might argue that in the case of the Senda coal mine, for example, there is no point in even considering ways of mitigating the social impact on the Hurda people, since no national or district politicians are concerned about what happens to the Hurda. Similarly, they might suggest that the Gondwanaland DDC is wasting time collecting and analyzing all this information on proposed RDF applications because the final decisions are made by the District Council primarily or entirely on a political basis.

Although such feelings are understandable, they are not entirely justifiable in most situations. Although political factors will inevitably play a major part in determining which projects go ahead and which do not, this does not mean that there is no point in considering other factors. If planners make recommendations on the basis of these other factors, it is more difficult for the politicians to justify the decisions which they would like to make and, if they still insist on making such decisions, the basis of their choice is more obvious to the general public than it would otherwise have been - and the planners are less likely to be blamed. For example, in the Senda case, the social consultant's recommendations will make it more difficult for the central government to ignore the plight of the Hurda entirely, or for the District Council to spend all the royalties from the mine in other parts of the district, than would otherwise have been the case. And the prioritization of RDF projects by the DDC will make it harder for councillors to allocate funds purely on a political basis.

Furthermore, planners can go one step further and take account of political considerations themselves. If they do so, there is less chance of their recommendations being totally disregarded. This is why the Gondwanaland DDC included political implications as one of the criteria to be used in prioritizing projects. Moreover, the planners may even be able to influence the politicians by pointing out political implications which they had not considered or adopting bargaining tactics. For example, in the Senda case, the social consultant attempted to get the cooperation of the District Council by recommending that the rate of royalty payment be increased to compensate for the social costs of the project provided that the Council spent a certain proportion of the amount in Zone V. In other words, planners should, as recommended in Chapters 3 and 4, accept the reality of political influence and plan accordingly.

SUMMARY

- Project appraisal has three main functions:
 - (i) to help decide whether or not to go ahead with a particular project;
 - (ii) to compare alternative ways of achieving a particular objective; and
 - (iii) to rank project proposals in order of investment priority. In all cases, the social implications of the projects must be included in the appraisal, in order to maximize social benefits, minimize social costs and identify any social constraints to project implementation.
 - Social costs and benefits are costs or benefits related to any of the issues or activities defined as 'social' in Chapter 2. In many cases, it is difficult to draw a clear line between social and economic costs or benefits.
 - The measurement of social costs and benefits is a form of data collection. Consequently, the methods used, and the problems which tend to arise, are the same as those discussed in Chapter 5. This is illustrated by three specific examples.
 - Comparing social and economic costs and benefits is one of the most difficult parts of project appraisal, since most (although not all) social data is not normally presented in monetary form and so cannot be easily incorporated into a conventional financial cost-benefit analysis. There are two possible ways of dealing with this problem. One is to convert the social data into monetary form. The other is to broaden the base of the appraisal to include data other than financial data and consider both kinds of data when making the investment decision. The second approach is more suitable for district planning because it does not require complex analysis and is often more accurate. The main problem it presents is that of 'weighting' the different kinds of data. Ways of doing this are discussed.
 - Project prioritization is highly susceptible to political influence. However, project appraisal can help to reduce such influence, since it highlights the difference between the recommended decision and that made by the politicians. Planners should try to take account of political considerations when appraising projects.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

Bridger, G.A. & J.T. Winpenny, Planning Development Projects, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, for Overseas Development Administration, 1983. A practical guide to project appraisal in less developed countries, which focuses primarily but not entirely on the economic aspects; includes chapters on specific sectors.

Carley, M. & E. Derow, Social Impact Assessment, London, Policy Studies Institute, 1980. A useful introduction and guide to the early literature on social impact assessment, relevant to both the appraisal and evaluation stages of project planning. Includes a short chapter on the Third World.

Cochrane, G., The Cultural Appraisal of Development Projects, New York, Praeger, 1979. Focuses particularly on the cultural aspects of project appraisal; demonstrates the importance of cultural factors and explains how to incorporate them into project appraisal and design.

FAO, Guide for Training in the Formulation of Agricultural and Rural Investment Projects, Rome, 1986. A comprehensive guide to all aspects of project planning, divided into six volumes: Introduction; Preparation; Reconnaissance; Project Design; Analysis; and Documentation. The volume on Analysis is concerned specifically with project appraisal and includes a brief section on social appraisal.

CHAPTER 8

PLANNING FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

- 8.1 General issues
- 8.2 Planning for the poor
- 8.3 Planning for the land hungry
- 8.4 Planning for women
- 8.5 Planning for ethnic minorities

This chapter looks specifically at planning to improve the status of those sectors of a district's population that are in some way or other disadvantaged. It is divided into five main sections. The first section makes some general points about this sort of planning, which are then illustrated in the remaining sections by looking at four specific types of disadvantaged people - the poor, the land hungry, women and ethnic minorities. Each section examines three aspects of the subject: identifying those who are disadvantaged, analyzing the reasons why they are disadvantaged, and finding ways of improving their position.

CHAPTER 8

PLANNING FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

8.1 General Issues

One of the most important roles of social planning is to look at the needs of those sectors of the population that suffer some form of disadvantage, with the aim of improving their status in some way or other. These needs are likely to be ignored unless planners make a specific effort to identify and address them because one of the characteristics of disadvantaged groups is that they have little or no political power and so no means of expressing their needs - that is, no 'voice'. This section of the chapter examines the general principles behind this sort of planning. These are then illustrated in subsequent sections, which look in more detail at particular types of disadvantage.

Who are the disadvantaged ?

A 'disadvantaged' person is one who is in a worse position than the majority of the population. There are many different ways in which someone can be disadvantaged, and therefore many different kinds of disadvantaged people. They include:

- the poor, who are disadvantaged on the basis of income or access to resources;
- the landless or 'land hungry', who are disadvantaged in terms of access to land;
- the unemployed, who are disadvantaged in that they do not have access to gainful employment;
- the disabled, who are disadvantaged because of some physical or mental disability;
- women, who are disadvantaged because of the widespread tendency for women to be regarded as inferior to men;
- children, who are disadvantaged in the sense that they do not have control over their own livelihood and so are vulnerable and easily exploited;

- ethnic minorities, who are disadvantaged because they lack political influence and so are likely to be dominated by other ethnic groups;
- religious or 'cultural' minorities, who are disadvantaged because they are likely to be dominated by people with other religious or cultural beliefs and practices; and
- people who live in regions which are economically disadvantaged and thus lack opportunities available to people in more affluent areas.

It should be apparent from the above list that there is considerable overlap between the various forms of disadvantage. In other words, people who are disadvantaged in one way are often also disadvantaged in other ways. There is a particularly close relationship between poverty and other forms of disadvantage, to the extent that someone who is disadvantaged in any other way is very likely also to be poorer than he or she would otherwise be. Similarly, there is often a degree of overlap between the last three types of disadvantage, in that ethnic minorities tend also to be religious or cultural minorities and often live in less affluent regions or neighbourhoods. An obvious example of such a case is the Hurda in Gondwanaland District. The reasons for such overlap will be explored later.

The relative importance of the various forms of disadvantage varies from one district to another - and from one country to another. It is therefore necessary for planners at district level to consider which warrant attention in their particular area. In some cases, the need may be fairly obvious. For example, the need to address poverty is likely to arise in all districts, although the severity of the problem varies from place to place, and over time. Similarly, in most districts there are certain specific forms of disadvantage which are well known to anyone involved in the development of the district. In the case of Gondwanaland, for example, the basic information in the Annex to Chapter 2 is enough to indicate two specific forms of disadvantage: land hunger in Zone III and the position of the Hurda in Zone V.

However, it is not always so easy to identify disadvantaged groups, since - as already indicated - they seldom have a 'voice'. It is particularly difficult if the group is geographically dispersed and so less 'visible'. This is the case with women, whose problems are seldom recognized unless they form some kind of organization to represent their interests. It is therefore important that planners look for the less obvious forms of disadvantage as well as addressing the obvious problems. The above list can be used as a checklist to indicate possible forms of disadvantage which may exist. The subsequent sections of this chapter examine methods of planning to meet the needs of four disadvantaged groups - the poor, the land hungry, women and ethnic

minorities - which are likely to be found in many districts but present different kinds of methodological issues and problems.

Why are they disadvantaged ?

It is important to know why a particular group of people is disadvantaged because one cannot seek solutions unless one understands the nature of the problem. There are many different causal factors and it is useful to sub-divide them in two ways: by level and by type.

Causal factors

In terms of level, they may be sub-divided into the following categories: personal, household, local, regional, national and international. For example, a disabled person is disadvantaged primarily because of his or her **personal** disability, although the amount of support received from the household or **local** community in which he or she lives, and/or from the **national** government, are also important factors. Similarly, someone who lives in a disadvantaged region is disadvantaged because of the particular characteristics of that **region** and/or **national** policy on regional development. And someone who is unemployed because of retrenchments due to a structural adjustment programme is disadvantaged primarily because of **national** and **international** economic policies. It is important to identify these different levels in order to determine the level at which action needs to be taken to address the problem. One of the main problems facing district planners is that many of the causes of disadvantage lie at national or international level, and are thus beyond their control. The implications of this will be considered later.

On the basis of type, causal factors may be sub-divided into physical, economic, social/cultural and political categories -or any subdivisions of these. Thus, for example, personal disability, gender and the natural resource base of a disadvantaged region may be regarded as **physical** factors, while national and international economic policies are obviously **economic** in nature, traditional cultural practices which treat women as inferior are **social**, and discrimination against minority ethnic groups by local or national governments is **political**. Categorizing factors in this way helps to identify how much scope there is for corrective action and what form this action should take.

The analysis is complicated by the fact that most forms of disadvantage are caused by more than one factor and the various factors are often interrelated in a complex manner. Thus, as indicated in one of the examples used above, the extent to which a disabled person is actually disadvantaged depends not only on his or her personal disability, but also on the attitudes of his or her family, local community and government towards disabled people. Furthermore, the various forms of disadvantage tend to reinforce each other.

Thus, to use the example of disability again, a disabled person who lives in a poor household in a deprived region of a poor country is likely to be considerably worse off than someone with the same disability who comes from a wealthy family in a prosperous area of a rich country. This explains the degree of overlap noted earlier between different forms of disadvantage, and in particular between poverty and the others. It also helps to explain why disadvantaged people often find themselves locked in a vicious circle of increasing deprivation and disadvantage, as described in Chapter 3 (section 3.4).

Identification of causal factors

How can district planners identify these various causal factors and their interrelationships? As with any other form of data, they will probably have to use a combination of primary and secondary sources. Secondary data, such as reports of previous surveys and general knowledge about the district, should provide much of the information required. But this may have to be supplemented by special studies, especially case studies and detailed discussions with disadvantaged people themselves, since in this case the main need is for qualitative rather than quantitative data, in order to understand the realities and complexities of the situation. This will be illustrated by the case studies of specific types of disadvantage in the later sections.

It is particularly important to identify the more subtle causal factors. There is a tendency to focus on the more obvious factors, thereby ignoring others which may actually have a more significant effect. This tendency often results in an overemphasis on personal factors rather than those of a broader societal nature, and on physical and economic factors rather than the more nebulous social/cultural and political ones. Thus, in the case of the disabled person, the personal physical disability is the most obvious factor, but the various other family and societal factors, which are economic, social and political in nature, may be equally if not more important.

It is also important to beware of broad generalizations (or 'stereotypes') based on inadequate or biased observations, especially when they lay the blame on the disadvantaged people themselves rather than broader societal forces. Statements like 'poor people are poor because they are lazy', 'farmers do not maximize their income because they are conservative' and 'the people in this region are poor because they have no interest in the commercial economy' should always be treated sceptically. More detailed investigations will inevitably reveal a much more complex situation, and one in which the individual's behaviour is often the result of other causal factors rather than the main cause of the problem.

How can their position be improved ?

Unfortunately there is usually no easy way of improving the position of disadvantaged people. There are two main reasons for this. One is the complex and cumulative nature of the problem, which means that it has to be tackled on several different fronts at the same time. The other is the fact that many causal factors are beyond the control of those seeking solutions. This includes, on the one hand, many physical factors which have to be accepted as given, and on the other hand, the more subtle social/cultural and political factors over which the average planner has little or no influence. It is particularly difficult at district level, because (as indicated earlier) many of the causal factors operate at national or international level and so are beyond the direct control of people at district level.

However, this does not mean that nothing can be done. We conclude this section by suggesting some broad guidelines which district planners may apply when trying to improve the position of any type of disadvantaged group. These guidelines are as follows:

- A special effort must be made to meet the needs of the disadvantaged. If they do not receive special attention, their position is likely to worsen rather than improve. There are two main ways in which this can be done. One is to design special policies, programmes or projects specifically for disadvantaged groups. This is often known as 'targeting'. The other is to incorporate special provisions for the disadvantaged into general policies, programmes or projects. These special provisions can take various forms, including special priorities or concessions to facilitate their participation and protective measures to reduce any adverse effects which might otherwise occur.
- The most effective way of improving the position of the disadvantaged is to tackle the underlying causes of their disadvantage, since only then will the improvement be sustainable. This is why it is important to understand the causes. However, sometimes this is not possible, because the causes are insuperable or beyond the control of the planners. In such cases, one has to resort to measures which merely reduce or ameliorate the effects of the disadvantage, such as welfare benefits or exemptions.
- Since one of the main problems facing disadvantaged groups is their powerlessness, and therefore their inability to voice their needs or influence decisions which affect their wellbeing, any attempt to improve their position must include measures to increase their power and influence. Such measures may range from giving people information about their rights or about ways

of tackling their problems to helping them to mobilize themselves into effective organizations or pressure groups.

- Finally, because of the many obstacles which exist, those concerned to improve the position of the disadvantaged must anticipate problems, look for ways of overcoming or avoiding them, and seize any opportunity to move one step further ahead. This is particularly relevant in the case of political obstacles, over which planners have relatively little control. As suggested in other chapters, planners must accept the reality of the political environment in which they have to operate (including not only the national political situation but also the politics of local governments, local communities and the organizations for which they as planners work) and 'manoeuvre' their way around it or through it.

The application of these general guidelines to specific kinds of disadvantage is illustrated in the following sections of this chapter.

8.2 Planning for the Poor

Poverty is in many respects the most fundamental form of disadvantage because, as indicated in the previous section, it is both the result and the cause of many other forms of disadvantage. This section relates the general principles discussed in section 8.1 to the specific case of planning to improve the position of the poor. Box 8.1, which describes how Gondwanaland District's Social Development Sub-Committee devised a strategy for tackling the problem of poverty in the district, illustrates the points made in the section.

Who are the poor ?

Poverty is generally measured in terms of income or consumption. In either case, it is important that allowance is made for inputs in both cash and kind, especially in rural areas, where a large proportion of production is used for subsistence purposes. The basic unit of measurement is usually the household, since the household generally constitutes a unit for purposes of both production and consumption. However, for some purposes other units of measurement may be applicable. For example, if one is concerned about poverty among women, it is necessary to look at the division of resources between men and women within the household. And if the main concern is with inequalities between regions and/or ethnic groups (as in the case of the Hurda), it may be appropriate to aggregate the household data on a regional or ethnic basis.

BOX 8.1

GONDWANALAND'S ANTI-POVERTY STRATEGY

Background

Box 4.1 described how Gondwanaland District established a Social Development Sub-Committee and Box 7.3 described how the Sub-Committee tackled its first task, which was to establish social criteria for appraising Rural Development Fund applications. Having done this, the Sub-Committee decided to focus its attention on the problem of increasing poverty in the district. The need to address this issue arose from a number of concerns, including:

- the need to alleviate poverty in order to improve nutrition (see Box 6.1);
- the relationship between poverty and land shortage in Zone III, which was revealed by the farming systems survey described in Box 5.6; and
- the obvious increase in poverty due to the country's structural adjustment programme, which was introduced in 1991.

The Sub-Committee decided to hold a one-day workshop to analyze the nature and causes of poverty and formulate some sort of strategy for tackling it. The workshop was attended by the heads of relevant central and local government departments, selected councillors, and representatives from the main NGOs operating in the district. Each participant was asked to bring to the workshop any information he or she had on the incidence of poverty and any ideas about ways of reducing it.

The nature and causes of poverty

The workshop reached two main conclusions about the nature and causes of poverty:

- The structural adjustment programme has undoubtedly created hardship for a large proportion of the district's population and increased the number of people who are unable to maintain an adequate standard of living. The main reasons for this are that it has increased the cost of living (due to inflation, the removal of subsidies and price controls on basic commodities,

.. / ..

Box 8.1 (cont.)

and increases in charges for basic services, including education and health), reduced the real value of wages (which have not kept pace with inflation), and increased unemployment.

- *Four main groups appear to be most seriously afflicted by poverty. They are:*

- 1) *About 20% of households in Zone III who do not have enough land to earn a living, due to the general shortage of land in the area and inequality in its distribution.*
- 2) *Households headed by women (especially widows), who do not have sufficient labour to cultivate enough land and lack respect or influence in the local community.*
- 3) *Urban households with no wage-earners, who have to survive by engaging in informal sector activities or begging.*
- 4) *The majority of Hurda households, who are discouraged from participating in the cash economy by their inhospitable physical environment, their cultural traditions and discrimination by other ethnic groups.*

Strategies for alleviating poverty

The following strategies for tackling the problem of poverty in the district were proposed by the workshop and later endorsed by the District Development Committee:

- *The impact of all proposed RDF projects on poverty and inequality would be noted, using the criteria already established by the Social Development Sub-Committee (see Box 7.3), and taken into account when prioritizing project applications.*
- *Specific strategies would be formulated for tackling the problems of each of the four most deprived groups, as follows:*
 - 1) *The problem of land hunger in Zone III would be addressed by the District Agricultural Officer. Box 8.2 describes how this was done.*

../..

Box 8.1 (cont.)

- 2) *The problem of women-headed households would be referred to a local NGO, the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group. Boxes 8.3 and 9.1 describe what action the Group took.*
 - 3) *A national NGO, called Jobs for the People, would be invited to establish, in conjunction with the District Council, an advice centre in Gondwana town for unemployed people wishing to engage in small-scale or informal business activities.*
 - 4) *The DDC would reactivate the proposed integrated development project for the Hurda area, which had been sabotaged by politicians in 1988 (see Box 3.4). Box 8.4 describes the revised project proposal.*
- *The Social Development Sub-Committee would liaise with those NGOs able to provide charitable assistance to destitute people in order to help identify those most in need.*
 - *The report of the workshop would be sent to the national committee responsible for monitoring the social impact of structural adjustment, in the hope that the district's concerns would be noted.*

"Poverty line"

In order to identify 'the poor' as a focus of attention in planning it is necessary to ask the question: how poor does one have to be in order to be classified as 'poor' for planning purposes? In other words, it is necessary to distinguish between different degrees of poverty and decide which degree, or level, is critical. This critical level, which is called the 'poverty line', is usually determined on the basis of the level of income or consumption necessary to maintain what is considered to be an 'adequate' standard of living. Some countries have an official poverty line, which is used as the basis for identifying the poor and measuring the extent of poverty.

Absolute and relative poverty

It is also important to distinguish between **absolute** and **relative** poverty. Absolute poverty is measured in terms of the actual level of income or consumption and the poverty line is thus expressed in terms of a specific amount of money. Relative poverty, on the other hand, is measured in terms of the difference between the actual level of income or consumption and the average level and the poverty line is thus expressed as a certain percentage of this average. Absolute poverty therefore measures the actual degree of hardship, while relative poverty measures the degree of inequality. Although they are both important indicators of social problems, their implications are different and they are not necessarily directly related. For example, it is possible - and in fact quite common - for absolute poverty to decrease while relative poverty increases.

The distinction between absolute and relative poverty has wider policy implications, since the relative importance attached to inequality (and thus to relative poverty) is one of the main criteria used to distinguish between different social policies and political ideologies, including 'capitalism' and 'socialism'. In this respect, it is perhaps significant to note that, while the World Bank and IMF have become increasingly concerned about the impact of structural adjustment programmes on absolute poverty, they have so far ignored their implications in terms of relative poverty.

Information on degree and extent of poverty

The main problem for planners at district level is to get basic information on the degree and extent of poverty, either absolute or relative. Ideally one requires detailed and carefully planned sample household surveys, but the resources required for such surveys are seldom available at district level. Planners therefore have to make the best of whatever information they can get, including any existing household surveys, general knowledge about the area and rapid appraisal methods. Thus, in the example from Gondwanaland described in Box 8.1, the District Social Development Sub-Committee used information from existing surveys (including the survey of farming systems using rapid appraisal methods described in Box 5.6) and general knowledge gleaned at a special one-day workshop. In situations where poverty is closely related to some particular causal factor, it may be easier to obtain information on the causal factor and use this as an approximate indicator of poverty. For example, in the case of Gondwanaland, it was established that land shortage was one of the main causes of poverty, and so information on land availability from the farming systems survey was used as an indicator of poverty.

Why are they poor ?

Poverty is usually caused by a complex and cumulative interrelationship of a number of different factors, including other forms of disadvantage. All the different levels and types of factors discussed in section 8.1 have an impact on poverty. However, societal factors generally have a greater influence than individual characteristics, with national and international policies often playing a major role. And economic and political factors tend to be more important than physical and social, although physical factors often determine the limits within which the other factors operate.

These broad generalizations can best be illustrated by looking at the case of Gondwanaland described in Box 8.1. There it was found that, firstly, there had been a general increase in poverty as a result of structural adjustment (due to a combination of inflation, decline in the real value of wages, increased unemployment, and increases in charges for social services) and, secondly, that there were four types of household which were most seriously affected, notably:

- households with insufficient land to earn a living;
- households headed by women, which have inadequate labour and lack respect or influence in the community;
- urban households with no wage-earners; and
- the majority of Hurda households.

This already indicates the immediate or primary causal factors. However, it is also necessary to explore the underlying or secondary causes. In other words, one must ask: why is there a land shortage? why are some households headed by women? why is there unemployment in urban areas? why are the Hurda poorer than other ethnic groups? In most cases, the answers are complex. For example, urban unemployment in Gondwanaland is due to a combination of rural-urban migration, inappropriate education, the limited scope for non-agricultural production, and retrenchment due to structural adjustment. Similarly, the Hurda are poor because of a combination of the inhospitable physical environment, cultural tradition and ethnic discrimination.

How does one obtain this sort of information? Ideally one requires detailed case studies of poor people, in order to understand the reality of their situations. However, if this is not possible, reasonably accurate information can usually be obtained from existing general knowledge and a limited number of interviews either with poor people themselves or with people who are familiar with their situations. Thus, in the case of Gondwanaland, the one-day workshop was used as a means of extracting as much information as possible.

How can their position be improved?

It is not easy to tackle the problem of poverty, especially at district level, since many of the causal factors - and therefore also the possible solutions - are beyond the scope of planners at district level. However, there are a number of measures that can be taken. In particular:

- When appraising any proposed development programme or project, the likely impact on poverty (absolute and relative) should be taken into consideration and the implications pointed out to those making the final decisions.
- Where poverty is associated with specific causal factors (eg. land shortage, unemployment), strategies to tackle these particular problems should be formulated, in order to try to remove the causes of poverty.
- If it is not possible to tackle the causes of poverty, attempts should be made to provide some sort of support for those people who are most seriously affected, by referring them to appropriate government or non-government agencies (where such exist) or trying to mobilize special resources.
- Those concerned with development at district level should look for any opportunity to help poor people to understand the reasons for their plight, inform them of their rights, or help them to organize effective action.
- Where national policies are having obvious adverse effects on poverty, people at district level should document these effects as fully as possible and convey the information to any individuals or organizations at national level who are likely to be sympathetic.

Box 8.1 describes how the Gondwanaland District Development Committee adopted measures such as these to try to tackle the problem of poverty in the district.

8.3 Planning for the Land Hungry

Land shortage is one of the most common forms of disadvantage in rural areas, and (as indicated in previous sections) one of the major causes of rural poverty. This section looks specifically at methods of planning to tackle this particular form of disadvantage and Box 8.2 illustrates the points made by describing how Gondwanaland District approached the problem of land shortage in Zone III of the district.

BOX 8.2

**GONDWANALAND'S ATTEMPT
TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF LAND SHORTAGE**

Background

The district farming systems survey undertaken by the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources (see Box 5.6) indicated that as much as 20% of households in Zone III do not have enough land to earn an adequate living. The areas worst affected are in the southern part of the zone, near the forest reserve. The District Agricultural Officer was concerned about this and raised it at the district workshop on poverty organized by the Social Development Sub-Committee (see Box 8.1). The workshop referred the problem back to the DAO, who agreed to find out more about the causes of land shortage and suggest ways of alleviating the problem. In order to do this, he organized a meeting of all agricultural extension workers in Zone III and sought their views.

The causes of land shortage

There appeared to be five main - and interrelated - causal factors:

- the high population density in the area;
- the large numbers of livestock;
- the considerable proportion of land unsuitable for agricultural purposes because of the hilly terrain;
- the relatively inefficient land management systems practised in the area, including extensive methods of cultivation and grazing; and
- the breakdown of the traditional Wana land tenure system (due in large part to the expansion of coffee production), resulting in the subdivision of land into uneconomic holdings and increased inequality in the size of holdings.

Strategies for tackling the problem

There was much discussion at the meeting about alternative strategies. Eventually, however, it was decided to concentrate on two main strategies:

.. / ..

Box 8.2 (cont.)

- *There would be a major effort to encourage more intensive methods of cultivation and livestock rearing, including inter-cropping, terracing, improved irrigation, fencing of paddocks, supplementary feeding of livestock, and the use of manure for fertilizer. It was recognized that this would not be easy to do, since it would involve major changes in traditional farming systems. However, the DAO was encouraged by the fact that in some of the villages most affected by land shortage, people were already beginning to introduce such measures and were keen to learn about other ways of intensifying their farming systems. The project would begin in these villages and, if it proved successful, they would then be used to demonstrate the potential benefits to other villages.*
- *It was decided to approach the National Forestry Commission to discuss the possibility of allowing those villages near the forest reserve to legitimately cut and sell timber as an additional form of income and to graze a limited number of livestock in the forest. This would require very careful management, in order to ensure that the timber was not exploited faster than it could be regenerated. And it would take some persuasion to convince the Forestry Commission to agree. However, a precedent had already been set in another forest reserve in the southeastern part of the country, where a similar 'community forestry' project had recently been established.*

It was also agreed that family planning is important as a long-term measure to curb population growth. However, after consultations with the Ministry of Health, it was decided that little more could be done to accelerate the existing family planning programme.

Who are the land hungry ?

The term 'land hungry' is used here to describe rural households which do not have access to enough land to earn a basic living (including those with no land at all) and do not have any other regular source of income. Such households supplement whatever income they do get from land by various means, including working as casual labourers for other farmers, engaging in informal sector activities, borrowing from money-lenders, depending on friends or relatives, and begging. It should, however, be noted that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a household is engaged in such activities only because

it cannot make a living from the land, or whether it is doing so by choice and thus not really suffering from 'land hunger'.

In order to measure the extent of land hunger and identify those who are most affected, it is necessary first to know roughly how much land is required to earn a basic living in a particular agro-economic system. This information, which can be obtained from farm management surveys, on-farm research or rapid appraisal methods, is often already available in district agricultural offices. In the case of Gondwanaland described in Box 8.2, for example, the District Agricultural Officer already had sufficient information on the minimum viable farm size in each zone from the 1991 National Sample Agricultural Survey and on-farm research by his Ministry.

Having got this information, the next step is to find out how many households have access to less than the minimum amount of land. This is more difficult to do, since it requires fairly detailed information from a large number of households, which can best be obtained from a full household census or at least a fairly large sample household survey. However, in most districts it is possible to get a general indication of the extent and nature of the problem from general knowledge and rapid appraisal methods. Thus, in the case of Gondwanaland, the information on farming systems obtained by rapid appraisal methods (see Box 5.6) was used.

Why are they short of land ?

Land hunger occurs in two main kinds of situation: in areas where there is a general shortage of land and in those where there are major inequalities in access to land. In the first case, the main problem is that of imbalance between land and people. This in turn may be due to one or more different factors, including the amount of usable land, the density of population, the number of livestock, the land tenure system, and the intensity of land use. In the second case, the problem is one of land distribution rather than land availability. Inequalities in access to land can occur for various reasons, including land tenure systems, the value of land as a productive asset, and the relationship between land ownership and other forms of economic wealth or political power. There is a tendency for inequalities to increase, especially when the productive value of land is relatively high, because those with most land use it to generate wealth which is then used to acquire more land, while those with least land cannot earn enough to live and thus are often forced to sell (or relinquish their rights to) the little land they do have.

In many cases one finds a combination of both situations. In Gondwanaland, for example, it was found that the main problem of land hunger is in Zone III, where there is both a general shortage of land and increasing inequality in its distribution. The general land shortage is due to a combination of the rugged terrain, high population densities, large numbers of livestock, relatively

inefficient methods of land use, and increasing subdivision of land owing to the breakdown of the traditional communal system of land tenure. And the increasing inequality is due primarily to the expansion of coffee production, which has enhanced the productive value of land and accelerated the transition from communal to individual land tenure.

As with other forms of disadvantage, a detailed knowledge of the local situation is necessary in order to understand these causal patterns. In most districts - as in Gondwanaland - this can be obtained from a combination of existing surveys or studies and the general knowledge of extension workers or others familiar with the locality. If necessary, this can be supplemented by visiting selected villages and discussing the problem with those most affected by land shortage.

How can their position be improved ?

There are various ways of tackling the problem of land hunger. These include:

- increasing the efficiency and, in particular, the intensity of land use;
- restricting livestock numbers, either directly or by penalizing those with large numbers of livestock;
- controlling land tenure (eg. by imposing ceilings on land holdings or limiting subdivisions);
- facilitating alternative income-earning opportunities for those with inadequate land;
- promoting family planning in order to reduce the rate of population growth; and
- resettling people in areas where there is more land available.

The relevance of each of these strategies varies from place to place, depending on the cause of land hunger and the feasibility of the strategy in that particular situation.

However, there are problems associated with all the strategies. Moreover, some of them - such as controlling land tenure and large-scale resettlement - are generally beyond the scope of district planning, since they require national policy decisions and/or large amounts of resources. For district planners, the most feasible measures are likely to be the intensification of land use and the facilitation of alternative income-earning opportunities, with the

promotion of family planning possibly as a long-term measure which can do no more than prevent the situation from getting much worse but has other benefits associated with it. Box 8.2 describes how Gondwanaland adopted strategies along these lines.

8.4 Planning for Women

The need to give special attention to the role of women in rural development planning, in order to improve their status and ensure that they benefit fully from development activities, has been widely recognized for many years. This section of the chapter looks at ways of doing this at district level, drawing on the example of the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group, which is described in Box 8.3.

Are women disadvantaged ?

The identification of women (and girls) as a disadvantaged group is rather different from that of identifying the poor or land hungry because they constitute approximately half the population and their disadvantage is based on gender, which is a physical characteristic which cannot normally be changed. It is therefore necessary to consider in what ways women are disadvantaged and whether all women are disadvantaged.

Women are generally regarded as being disadvantaged because in almost all societies there is a tendency for men to have a higher economic, social and political status than women and to use this status to reinforce their own position at the expense of women. This is particularly likely to be the case in the rural areas of 'less developed' countries. Although customs vary from one society to another, it is usual for women to do a large part of the agricultural work as well as all the household chores and yet for men to take control over the income from most cash crops and make most family decisions. Similarly, women are seldom expected to play a public role in the community, less likely to have well-paid jobs, and frequently discriminated against in customary law (for example, with regard to inheritance). Moreover, the discrimination starts at an early age, since girls are less likely to go to school than boys and more likely to be expected to do agricultural or household work at an early age.

Does this mean that women are automatically and inevitably disadvantaged on the basis of gender? Some people would argue that it does not. They would cite the fact that many women are able to overcome any such disadvantages and achieve an economic, social or political status equal or superior to that of men. They would also argue that a woman in a wealthy household and/or in a relatively affluent country is less disadvantaged than a man in a poor household and/or a poor country. And they would claim that

many men do not regard women as inferior - and that many women do not think that they are disadvantaged and do not want to be equal to men. There is some truth behind each of these arguments and it will be seen later that they must be taken into consideration when formulating policy on gender issues. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, to the extent that objective indicators of disadvantage (such as those mentioned above) can be agreed upon, a woman is likely to be at a disadvantage in relation to a man in an equivalent socioeconomic position simply because of her gender.

Often the most fundamental problem of planning to meet the needs of women at district level is to get those in decision-making positions to agree that there is a problem. Both central and local government agencies at district level tend to be dominated by men, and more often than not these men either do not regard women as disadvantaged or do not consider it to be a problem that warrants serious attention. Consequently, many attempts to improve the status of women begin as pressure groups, composed primarily or entirely of women and often operating outside formal government structures, although government officials may be involved. This was the case with the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group, described in Box 8.3, which is a non-government organization established by a small group of concerned women to promote the interests of women throughout the district.

BOX 8.3

THE GONDWANALAND WOMEN'S ACTION GROUP

Background

The Gondwanaland Women's Action Group is a non-government organization formed in 1989 by a small group of women in Gondwanaland District with the aim of improving the status of women in the district. The founder members included the only woman councillor in the district (who was elected chairperson), the District Community Development and Social Welfare Officer (DCDSWO), three other civil servants, a prominent businesswoman, and an expatriate teacher at Gondwana High School. All were resident in Gondwana town.

Prior to the Group's formation, the only efforts to improve the position of women in the district were those of the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, which encouraged women to work in groups to establish small income generating projects based on their traditional areas of expertise. The most popular were baking, sewing (especially school uniforms), gardening and poultry projects. Some of these projects became economically viable, but many failed to become effective means of income generation.

../..

Box 8.3 (cont.)

The Group's initial approach

The initial approach adopted by the Women's Action Group was very different to that of the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare. Most of the members felt that such income generating projects did nothing to improve the social status of women and, in fact, tended to reinforce their traditional role because the activities they promoted were those traditionally undertaken by women. They believed that the need was for a pressure group, which would actively promote the rights of women and fight against any form of discrimination. The DCDSWO was not entirely convinced by this argument but she was disillusioned by the high rate of failure among the projects promoted by her Ministry and thus willing to try a different approach. All the members were considerably influenced by the expatriate teacher, who had been involved in a similar women's pressure group in her own country and believed that it was the only valid approach.

The Group's main activities in this initial phase included:

- *the production of a women's newsletter (supported by funds which the teacher procured from her home country), which urged women to fight for their rights at home, at work and in the local community;*
- *an educational campaign among ward level extension workers of the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, to encourage them to adopt a more radical approach in their work with women; and*
- *a formal protest to the District Council about the discrimination against women in both the election of councillors and the appointment of staff.*

However, these activities had little if any positive impact and, in fact, aroused considerable hostility, especially in the District Council. The newsletter did not sell well; most ward extension workers failed to take up the Group's message, claiming that the women with whom they worked were unable or unwilling to stand up for their rights in this way; and the main effect of the protest against the District Council was that the Group's chairperson lost her seat at the next Council elections.

Box 8.3 (cont.)

The present approach

Following the Chairperson's defeat in the Council elections, the Group decided that it must review its approach. On the advice of the DCDSWO, members visited a number of women's groups around the district in order to learn about their position and problems. This helped them to see things from the perspective of the average rural woman, rather than that of a few relatively privileged urban dwellers, and thus to realize that the process of change had to be more gradual.

From then on, the group's approach has been significantly different. In particular:

- *Its activities include the provision of advice to women's income generating projects, on the grounds that for the majority of rural women the most important need is an independent source of income and the easiest way of generating this is to utilize their existing skills.*
- *The provision of such advice then provides an opportunity for the Group to talk about the other problems faced by the women concerned and to discuss with them ways in which they might realistically tackle these problems.*
- *The newsletter is still produced but there have been subtle but significant changes in its content and perspective - and as a result its sales have increased considerably.*
- *With the help of a national women's organization, the Group has begun to address the problems of those women who are particularly disadvantaged, beginning with the case of women heads of rural households, which was referred to them by the Social Development Sub-Committee of the District Development Committee (see Box 8.1).*
- *The Group continues to act as a watchdog in identifying cases of discrimination against women, but its approach is now more cautious and tactful than that adopted in the protest against the District Council.*

Why are they disadvantaged ?

Women are disadvantaged because of a vicious circle of social/cultural, economic and political factors, which operates at all levels - family, local community, national and international. The fact that in most cultures women are traditionally regarded as in many respects inferior to men means that their economic and political status tends to be lower than that of men, which in turn reinforces the cultural tradition of inferiority. Moreover, the cultural tradition is so strong that many women actually believe that they are inferior and so see no reason to try to improve their status.

Although the general form which this vicious circle takes is the same in all societies, including those where women's right to equal treatment has long been acknowledged in theory, there are significant variations in detail from one society to another - and from one household to another. It is important that anyone at district level who is concerned to improve the position of women in the district is fully conversant with the nature and causes of discrimination in that particular area, and with the way that the majority of rural people - men and women - feel about the position of women. Without such knowledge, there is a risk that the efforts made will be irrelevant to the local situation and arouse hostility rather than support, even among women. This was the case with the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group described in Box 8.3. Their initial approach was based on the experience of a few urban-based women and an expatriate volunteer, all of whom were out of touch with the reality of gender relations in the rural parts of the district. It was only when they took steps to understand the local situation and involve 'ordinary' women that their activities began to bear fruit.

How can their position be improved ?

In many countries the approaches adopted to improve the position of women fall into two very different, and in some respects contradictory, types. One approach is to help women improve their economic position by engaging - individually or collectively - in income-generating activities which utilize their traditional skills, such as gardening, poultry raising, sewing, baking, traditional crafts and marketing. This approach does not try to tackle the underlying discrimination against women and focuses on activities which are consistent with the traditional division of labour between men and women. This was the only kind of women's development activity promoted in Gondwanaland prior to the formation of the Women's Action Group. The other approach focuses on the underlying problem of discrimination against women. Its main aim is to mobilize women to protest against discrimination at all levels - in their families, in the local community, and at national level. The attitude adopted tends to be aggressive or militant and to promote a negative image of men. This was the initial approach tried by the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group.

There are obvious disadvantages in both approaches. The first does not provide a long-term solution to the problem because it does not tackle the underlying causes of women's disadvantage, while the second is unrealistic in terms of the degree and form of change expected, fails to provide any immediate economic benefit to women and tends to arouse hostility, especially but not only among men. As those involved in the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group gradually learned, there is a need for a third approach which incorporates elements of the other two and is specifically adapted to the reality of the local situation.

This third approach should involve a combination of three main kinds of activities:

- the promotion of income-generating activities in order to improve women's economic status and tackle their most immediate problem of poverty;
- the provision of education and advice, particularly for women but also for men, in order to help both to appreciate their rights and responsibilities and thus promote a gradual change in gender relations; and
- the organization of campaigns to tackle any particular instances of discrimination which may arise in the area in a manner which is firm but not unnecessarily aggressive.

Box 8.3 describes the strategy eventually adopted by the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group, which includes each of these three kinds of activities.

8.5 Planning for Ethnic Minorities

Ethnic minorities do not exist in all districts, or even in all countries. However, where they do exist, they present a special challenge to the social planner. This final section of the chapter looks at ways of planning to meet the needs of this particular disadvantaged group at district level. It draws upon the obvious example of the Hurda in Gondwanaland, which has already been used in Boxes 3.4 and 7.1 and is expanded in Box 8.4.

BOX 8.4

THE PROPOSED HURDA INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Background

As described in Box 3.4, in 1988 an international NGO, World Development International, offered to support an integrated development project in Zone V, for the benefit of the Hurda people. However, the project was sabotaged by local and national politicians, who wanted it located in their own parts of the district, and by another NGO working in the area, called Save the People. Eventually World Development International established the project in another district.

However, at the district workshop on poverty described in Box 8.1, it was decided that the District Development Committee (DDC) should revise the original project proposal and approach other donors for funding.

Project planning

The original project proposal had been designed by World Development International, in consultation with headquarters staff of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. No-one at district level had been consulted until the final stages of project approval, when the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning decided that it would be necessary to have the District Council's support for a project of this nature. This was when the political opposition began.

The DDC realized that, in order to avoid a similar problem, all those affected by the project must be involved in the planning stage. It therefore gave the responsibility for preparing the revised project design to a small task force, composed of the Council Chairman (who had attended the poverty workshop and thus agreed to the project's revival), the councillors of the three Hurda wards, representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare and the District Secretary's Office, and a representative of Save the People.

Project aims

The task force proposed that the aims of the project should be to improve the economic, social and political status of the Hurda people through an integrated development programme.

../-

Box 8.4 (cont.)

Project components

It was proposed that the main project components should be:

- *The provision of an all-weather access road into the area (unless the Senda coal mine were to go ahead in the near future, in which case the road would be built anyway - see Box 7.1) and feeder roads leading to it. The Hurda councillors regarded this as the most important project component and other members of the task force agreed that all other forms of development would be hampered without improved road communication.*
- *The provision of additional primary schools, a secondary school and two more clinics in the area. This was also given high priority by the Hurda councillors and justified in terms of the gross underprovision of services in the area (see Box 3.4) and the district's education policy (see Box 6.3).*
- *The promotion of small-scale economic development activities, notably commercial livestock production and the production and sale of traditional crafts. These activities were selected because they are areas in which the Hurda already have special expertise. It was recognized that it would not be easy to turn these traditional activities into commercial enterprises. However, there were indications that it should be possible if promoted slowly and in full consultation with the main social groups into which the Hurda are divided. If the Senda coal mine were to go ahead, there would be a ready local market for both kinds of product.*
- *An adult education programme, similar to that established in parts of Zone III by the Catholic Church (see Box 3.3), in order to increase adult literacy and promote skills and attitudes which would help the people to improve their economic position and their social and political status.*

Project organization

The task force proposed that:

..//

Box 8.4 (cont.)

- *A Hurda Development Association, composed of the three Hurda councillors and representatives of the main social groups, should be established to coordinate and monitor the project. This was intended primarily as a means of strengthening the Hurda's organizational capacity, and therefore their political 'voice'. The Council Chairman initially objected to the idea, on the grounds that it would be duplicating the work of the Council. However, other members of the task force convinced him by saying that, since the Hurda councillors would be members, it should strengthen rather than weaken the Council's position.*
- *The District Council should be responsible for the construction and maintenance of the roads, schools and health services, and to help it do this, the project would include the provision of equipment to upgrade the Council's Works Department. This was suggested by the Council Chairman and supported willingly by other members as a means of gaining the Council's support.*
- *The Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources would be responsible for the livestock project and the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare for the crafts project and the adult education programme. The latter would be undertaken as an extension of its existing pilot adult literacy projects (see Box 6.3).*

Are ethnic minorities disadvantaged ?

The identification of an ethnic minority as a disadvantaged group is rather like that of identifying women as being disadvantaged, in that the basis for their disadvantage is also a physical characteristic - in this case, ethnic origin. However, it is not quite so straightforward, in that it is sometimes more difficult to identify someone's ethnic origin than to identify his or her gender. It is therefore necessary to begin by defining the concept of ethnic minority before going on to consider in what way ethnic minorities are disadvantaged and whether they are always disadvantaged.

An ethnic group is usually defined as a group of people with the same physical or racial characteristics, the same historical origins and/or the same language, and more often than not, also the same religion and cultural traditions. And

an ethnic minority is a group of people which is ethnically different to the majority of people in the country or region concerned.

In some cases, it is easy to identify an ethnic minority. For example, there is no doubt that people of African or Asian origin living in European countries are ethnic minorities. And there is little doubt that the Hurda are an ethnic minority in New Kolonia (and in Gondwanaland District) because they constitute only a small proportion of the total population and differ from other ethnic groups in terms of physical characteristics, language, historical origins and culture.

But in other cases it is more difficult. Should a group of people which differs from its neighbours in terms of only one characteristic be classified as a different ethnic group? Should an ethnic group which constitutes a sizeable proportion but less than half of the total population be regarded as a minority? And what about people of mixed ethnic origin? In cases such as these, it is necessary to ask, firstly, whether the group regards itself as different and is so regarded by others and, secondly, whether its share of the total population is too small to allow it effective political representation. If the answers to both questions are 'yes', the group should probably be regarded as an ethnic minority.

There is a tendency for ethnic minorities to be economically, socially and politically disadvantaged. For example, they tend to have less than their fair share of productive resources (such as land), earn less than average incomes, have a higher rate of illhealth, lack access to social services, be under-represented in the civil service and professions, and lack political representation at national or local government level. The case of the Hurda, described in Box 3.4, is a typical example of a severely disadvantaged ethnic minority.

But does this mean that ethnic minorities are always or inevitably disadvantaged? This is similar to the question of whether all women are disadvantaged. It does not mean that all ethnic minorities suffer from every form of disadvantage. On the contrary, some minority groups are able to attain a higher standard of living than most of their neighbours. Obvious examples from world history are the Jews in Europe, the white population in South Africa and the Asians in East Africa. This kind of ethnic minority is unlikely to warrant special planning attention, at least in normal circumstances. However, even groups such as these are disadvantaged in that, because of their minority status, they are vulnerable and may sooner or later suffer at the hands of the majority. The persecution of the Jews under Hitler and the Ugandan Asians under Idi Amin are cases in point.

Why are they disadvantaged ?

The main reason why ethnic minorities are disadvantaged is that, because of their minority status, they lack political representation and so have little or no influence over the development of the country or region in which they live. However, other factors also play a part. They are more likely to be disadvantaged if their mode of life is economically and/or technologically weaker than that of the majority, as in the case of the Hurda, or if they belong to an ethnic, religious or cultural group which, for some reason or other, is particularly liable to persecution by the majority.

As with other forms of disadvantage, there is a tendency for ethnic minorities to become trapped in a vicious circle of poverty, deprivation and powerlessness, since each aspect of their disadvantage tends to reinforce the others. Once again the position of the Hurda is an obvious example. Moreover, the fact that they are 'different' is in itself part of the problem, since it means that there is not only a lack of concern for their wellbeing among those in positions of authority, but also a lack of understanding of their needs and problems. This creates difficulties for planners, since the wealth of general knowledge which exists among extension workers and other district staff may be of little value when seeking information about minority groups, because only the few staff who have worked among them will be familiar with their position. Moreover, there is also a tendency, even among professionals, to be prejudiced against ethnic minorities. The most effective way of obtaining accurate and unbiased information about their needs and problems is to involve members of the minority group themselves in the planning process.

How can their position be improved ?

As with other disadvantaged groups, it is not easy to improve the position of ethnic minorities because of the vicious circle of deprivation and disadvantage in which they are trapped. The only really effective long-term strategy is to increase their political 'voice', thereby removing the basic cause of their disadvantage. But this is very difficult to do, particularly for planners at district level who seldom have much influence over national or local politics. Box 3.4 described how the attempt to establish an integrated development project for the Hurda people of Gondwanaland was sabotaged by both local and national politicians. It is also difficult to generalize about ethnic minorities as a whole, since each has its own specific needs and problems.

Despite these problems, it is possible to give some broad guidelines for district planners and to illustrate these by reference to the example of the Hurda:

- An integrated approach to the development of minority groups is generally required, because of the complex inter-relationship between the various factors responsible for their disadvantage. Box 8.4 illustrates the form which such an approach might take. It describes the proposed integrated development project for the

Hurda people, which was revived by the District Development Committee in order to tackle the problem of poverty in the area.

- Equally important is a participatory approach, in which members of the minority group are fully involved in the planning and implementation of all development activities and take the lead in determining needs, priorities and the pace of development. The aim should be to build on existing institutional and cultural strengths, rather than ignore or bypass them. The Hurda project was designed in consultation with the local community and the project itself will involve participation at project level (through the proposed Hurda Development Association) and at the level of individual social groups.
- The first step should be to tackle the most obvious problems as perceived by the group itself, so that they see some immediate benefit. In the case of the Hurda, this is the provision of an all-weather access road to the area and the expansion of education and health facilities.
- Any development effort should include measures to improve the economic position of the group, in order not only to improve their standard of living but also to strengthen their political standing. The Hurda project proposes to do this both directly (by encouraging commercial livestock production and craft industries) and indirectly (by the improvement of infrastructure).
- It should also include more direct ways of strengthening the group's political position, such as 'conscientization' or 'political education' and the formation of representative organizations (such as the proposed Hurda Development Association) which can act as pressure groups.
- It may sometimes be necessary to make special provisions or adopt 'positive discrimination' policies in order to protect the interests of minority groups. An example of this, which was described in Box 7.1, is the measures recommended by the social development consultant to protect the Hurda from the worst effects of the proposed Senda coal mine.
- It may also be necessary for the planner to do some political manoeuvring in order to ensure that development efforts intended to benefit minority groups are not sabotaged or 'hijacked' by other ethnic groups. Box 8.4 describes how the DDC made a special effort to involve the District Council in reactivating the Hurda project and incorporated into the project design measures likely to attract its support, in order to avoid another sabotage by local politicians.

SUMMARY

- Since disadvantaged people have no political 'voice', their needs will be ignored unless planners make a special effort to identify and address them.
 - There are many different kinds of disadvantaged people, including the poor, the land hungry, the unemployed, the disabled, women, children, ethnic minorities, religious or cultural minorities, and people in disadvantaged regions. However, there is considerable overlap between these groups. There is in particular a tendency for people who are disadvantaged in other ways to also be poor.
 - The causes of disadvantage may be at personal, household, community, national or international level and may be physical, economic, social or political in nature. Most forms of disadvantage result from a complex combination of factors which tend to trap the disadvantaged in a vicious circle of poverty, deprivation and powerlessness.
 - It is not easy to improve the position of disadvantaged groups, especially at district level, since many of the causal factors are beyond the control of planners at this level. The problem may be tackled in two main ways: by designing special policies, projects or programmes targeted specifically at the disadvantaged and by making special provision for them in general policies, projects and programmes.
 - The most effective attempts to improve the position of disadvantaged groups are those which:
 - (i) try to remove the causes of disadvantage, rather than merely alleviate the effects;
 - (ii) incorporate measures to increase the power and influence of the disadvantaged group; and
 - (iii) look for ways of manoeuvring around the political obstacles.
 - These general principles are illustrated by examining the process of planning to meet the needs of four specific kinds of disadvantaged people: the poor, the land hungry, women and ethnic minorities.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

This reading list is confined to material on disadvantaged groups in general and the poor in particular. It does not include material on the other examples discussed in the chapter (the land hungry, women and ethnic minorities) because these are specialized fields and their inclusion in the text was intended only to illustrate the general points made, not to provide a comprehensive coverage of these topics. Material on poverty is included because of its widespread significance and its interrelationship with other forms of disadvantage.

Chambers, R., Rural Development: Putting the Last First, Harlow, Longman, 1983. Includes a detailed analysis of the causes of disadvantage in rural areas, emphasizing the 'deprivation trap' in which disadvantaged people are caught, and looks at ways of tackling the problems. Simply and persuasively written, with many examples.

Clay, E.J. & B.B. Schaffer (eds), Room for Manoeuvre: an Exploration of Public Policy in Agriculture and Rural Development, London, Heinemann, 1984. Uses case studies to demonstrate ways of manoeuvring round political obstacles. Not specifically focused on disadvantaged groups but most of the case studies have implications for the disadvantaged and Chapters 4 and 7 focus specifically on women and the poor respectively.

FAO, Guidelines for Designing Development Projects to Benefit the Rural Poor, Rome, 1986. Includes practical guidelines on means of identifying the rural poor and designing projects to meet their needs, although the latter part of the publication is really a guide to project design in general.

Korten, D.C. & F.B. Alfonso, Bureaucracy and the Poor: Closing the Gap, New York, McGraw-Hill International, 1981. Focuses on ways of reorienting government bureaucracy to meet the needs of the poor, emphasizing the need for a participatory, 'learning process' approach, which in turn requires major attitudinal changes.

World Bank, Poverty Reduction Handbook, Washington DC, 1992. An Operational Directive on the need to give more attention to poverty issues in Bank policies and programmes, together with detailed guidelines on how to do so. Includes sections on analyzing poverty, designing national poverty reduction programmes, and monitoring progress. Intended primarily for Bank staff but also of general value. Brings together much of the Bank's work on poverty during the 1980s.

CHAPTER 9

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

- 9.1 The rationale for participatory planning
- 9.2 The nature and scope of participatory planning
- 9.3 Strengthening participatory planning

The final chapter focuses on participatory planning - that is, planning **with** the people concerned rather than for them. It is divided into three main sections. The first section considers the arguments for participatory planning and the problems which it can create. The second examines the concept of participatory planning, including the degree and scope of participation, the question of **who** participates, and the channels of participation. And the final section looks at ways of strengthening participatory planning, through participatory research and appraisal, local government, extension workers, and community-based development projects.

CHAPTER 9

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

9.1 The Rationale for Participatory Planning

The need for a participatory approach to planning has been emphasized many times in these Guidelines and the time has now come to examine the rationale for such an approach more carefully. There are two main reasons why participation is advocated:

- Participation is a means of improving the quality of plans and increasing the chances that they will be successfully implemented. This is because the plans are more likely to be relevant to local needs and conditions and more likely to have popular support and commitment if the people who will be involved in, or affected by, them are fully involved in the planning process. This is particularly true in the case of policies, programmes or projects which are influenced by local variations in environment and/or highly dependent on the cooperation of the people concerned - which includes a large proportion of agricultural and rural development activities. The model vegetable garden project described in Box 3.3 (Chapter 3) demonstrated the problems which can arise if there is no participation.
- Participation is also of direct benefit to the participants (both individually and, in the case of group participation, collectively), in that it increases their awareness and understanding of the world and gives them more control over their lives. Consequently, it is widely regarded as a basic human right. This is the fundamental principle behind democratic government and one might thus regard participatory planning as a natural extension of democracy into the field of development planning. Because of its political associations, participatory planning is frequently promoted by governments as a means of demonstrating their commitment to democracy, while opposition groups use a lack of such participation to argue that the government is not sufficiently democratic. However, it is also something which should be promoted by any planner who is concerned with the general wellbeing of ordinary people - hence its particular interest to the social planner.

Although the arguments in favour of participatory planning are insurmountable, one should not pretend that it is easy or problem-free. As already indicated in Chapter 4 (section 4.4), participatory planning tends to require more resources and, in particular, more time than a non-participatory approach, because it involves a process of interaction between the planners and the beneficiaries. Moreover, it introduces many more interests, and therefore more options and more potential conflicts, into the planning process. There are likely to be conflicting interests both between professionals and beneficiaries and between different interest groups within the beneficiary community, and there is a risk that participation will increase rather than decrease inequalities in a community because the more powerful members are likely to have a greater say.

This in turn has implications in terms of the nature of the planning process - and of the planner. It means that the planning process must be flexible, since participation may result in unanticipated delays or changes in plan, and it must take the form of a dialogue, in order to allow the various interest groups to express their views. Hence the concept of a 'learning process' approach described in Chapter 3 (section 3.2). It also means that a special effort must be made to ensure the participation of disadvantaged groups, along the lines discussed in Chapter 8. And it requires a particular sort of planner (or alternatively an appropriate intermediary), one who is able and willing to understand the complexities of the beneficiary community, develop an effective relationship with them, see things from their point of view and, if necessary, modify his or her own views accordingly.

The implications of this in terms of methods of participatory planning will be considered later in the chapter. At this stage, the important point to note is that any such costs and problems which arise in the course of participatory planning are usually more than outweighed in the longer run by the benefits in terms of the quality and implementability of the plan and the individual and collective development of the participants. Even if the result is that the proposed policy, programme or plan has to be abandoned (maybe because there is widespread opposition to it, or because it is impossible to reach agreement on the form which it should take or to ensure that disadvantaged groups are not further disadvantaged by it), it is better to find this out in the planning stage than after implementation has begun.

9.2 The Nature and Scope of Participatory Planning

Although the benefits of participatory planning are widely recognized, there is much confusion about what it actually is. Participatory planning can take many forms and it is important to understand the differences between them and, in particular, the extent to which each is likely to achieve any or all of the benefits outlined above. This section analyzes the varying nature and

scope of participatory planning under four sub-headings: the scope of participation; the degree of participation; participation by whom?; and the channels of participation.

The scope of participation

The term 'planning' is generally used to refer to a wide-ranging process, involving a number of different but related and usually sequential steps, including: defining objectives; identifying and appraising alternative policies, programmes or projects for achieving these objectives; selecting the preferred alternative; implementing the selected policy, programme or project; monitoring its implementation; and evaluating its impact. Consequently, participatory planning may entail participation in any or all of these steps.

The term is most commonly used to refer to participation in the process of identifying and comparing alternative policies, programmes and projects (through various forms of participatory research) and/or in plan implementation (for example, by contributing cash or labour or merely 'being cooperative'). It is much less common to find any significant popular participation in defining the initial objectives, in actually selecting the preferred alternative, or in monitoring and evaluating. The lack of participation in the first two of these steps is particularly significant in terms of achieving the potential benefits of a participatory approach, since it means that people do not acquire the sense of control or 'ownership' which is necessary in order to ensure both the sustainability of the project or programme concerned and the full individual and collective benefits to the participants.

The degree of participation

At any stage in the planning process, the extent to which the people concerned participate can vary enormously, from a nominal form of participation in which they are really only informed of what is going to happen, through varying degrees of consultation and collaborative decision-making, to a situation where they are virtually in control. The critical issue is how much influence the people actually have over the decisions that are made at that stage in the process.

One cannot say what degree of participation is 'best', since it depends on the types of decisions which have to be made and on one's objectives or perspective. In a situation where no particular professional or technical skills are needed in order to make the decisions, the more influence the participants have the better, especially if a major objective of the exercise is to enhance the community's control and self-esteem. However, if professional or technical expertise is needed to make appropriate decisions, complete control

by the community may result in the wrong decisions being made, which in turn may jeopardise the success of the project or programme. In such cases, the planner has to decide whether to allow the people to make the wrong decision or (assuming he or she has the power to do so) to intervene and try to stop them.

This is a difficult decision to make. If the consequences of making such a decision are not likely to be too serious, it is probably better to let the people go ahead, so that they feel a sense of responsibility for the decision. Moreover, it is often the case that, although the decision made is contrary to accepted professional or technical wisdom, it is not the 'wrong' decision, but merely an alternative one, which draws upon a different type of knowledge. For example, farmers often have their own traditional agricultural practices which work just as well as - and sometimes better - than those advocated by extension workers. Similarly (as in the case of the model vegetable garden project in Gondwanaland District, described in Box 3.3), local communities often have a more realistic idea of the degree and form of cooperative activity which is feasible in that particular community than the government's official cooperative advisers. If, on the other hand, the people's decision does prove to be wrong, and thus upsets the implementation process, the planner should not blame the people but explain why the problems have arisen and suggest ways of rectifying them.

In either case, this reinforces the need for dialogue between planners (or other professionals) and the people, in order to facilitate a process of **mutual learning**, in which the parties exchange information and ideas and learn from each other. It is obviously best if this dialogue occurs before decisions are made, in order to avoid as many mistakes as possible. But, since this is not always possible, one has to accept that mistakes will be made in a participatory planning process - and to recognize that this is one of the most effective ways in which lessons are learned - by both planners and people.

Participation by whom ?

So far the discussion has referred vaguely to participation by 'the beneficiaries' or 'the people', although brief mention has been made of different interest groups. However, it is now necessary to consider exactly **whose** participation is necessary in order to achieve the potential benefits of a participatory approach.

The need is actually to involve all those people who are likely to either affect or be affected by the proposed policy, programme or project, whether positively or negatively. Participation of the former group is necessary in order to maximize the amount of support received in the implementation stage and minimize the risk of sabotage by possible opponents. For example, in the redesign of the Hurda Integrated Development Project described in Box

8.4 (Chapter 8), the District Council was involved from the start in order to ensure that the project was not sabotaged by the Council in the way that its predecessor had been. Participation of the second group - that is, those likely to be affected by the proposed policy, programme or project - is necessary in order to maximize the potential benefits and minimize any possible costs. Thus, in the case of the proposed Senda coal mine described in Box 7.1 (Chapter 7), the consultant sought the views of the likely beneficiaries, most of whom were from outside the immediate project area, and of the Hurda, who were more likely to suffer than gain from it.

The degree and form of participation required will not be the same in all cases. For example, in the case of the Senda coal mine study, the consultant did not make a serious attempt to consult people from outside the project area directly, since all she needed to know was that people were likely to be in a position to take advantage of the employment and marketing opportunities and this information could be obtained from secondary sources. However, in the case of the Hurda, more direct participation was required, partly because it was necessary to find out in much more detail how they were likely to react to the project, but also because they had a basic right to be consulted about such a development, since it would be in an area which they considered to be their own and would affect their lives significantly. And their participation in redesigning the Hurda Integrated Rural Development Project was perhaps even more important, since the project would have no hope of success unless it was relevant to their needs and priorities and had their full commitment.

The example of the Hurda also illustrates both the importance and the difficulties of involving disadvantaged groups, a point that has been touched upon briefly already. It is always easier to identify and communicate with the most affluent and influential people in an area or community than with the most disadvantaged. For example, at district level, district councillors (or their equivalent) are easy to contact and a useful source of general information about the district, but their views are not necessarily representative of the majority of the population and are likely to be biased in favour of their own interests. Similarly, at village level, the easiest contacts are village leaders (traditional or modern), other people in prominent positions (eg. teachers), master farmers and so on, while the poor, landless or disabled - and women as a whole, are much more difficult to locate and consult. Thus, in the case of the model vegetable garden project described in Box 3.3, the fact that in both villages the initial contact was made through the village development committee biased the project in favour of committee members and against the interests of those groups not adequately represented by the committee.

Channels of participation

Ideally, those people who need to be involved in planning a policy, programme or project should participate **directly**, rather than through some form of intermediary. In some cases this is possible, particularly if the activity concerned affects only a small number of people. For example, in the case of a village development project, it should be possible for all those affected by the project to be involved in its planning, provided that the planners are able and willing to promote such participation and recognize the need to make a special effort to involve disadvantaged groups.

However, it is often impossible for everyone to be involved directly, especially in the case of development activities which affect large numbers of people. Consequently, many forms of participation are **indirect**, in the sense that those affected have to express their views through some sort of intermediate channel. The effectiveness of their participation then depends very much on the effectiveness of the communication channel used. This explains many of the problems associated with the concept of 'democracy'. The original form of democracy, which was practised in the city-states of ancient Greece, was one in which all citizens participated directly in the government of the city, through public meetings. But as states grew bigger, this had to be replaced by indirect forms of democracy, in which people participate through some form of representatives. The effectiveness of the democratic system is then dependent on the mode of selecting such representatives and on their personal characteristics, including their intellectual capacity, their personal and political interests and affiliations, and their integrity.

In the case of district planning, there are various possible channels of participation. The most obvious ones are the **official political structures**, especially those related to local government. For example, in many districts (including Gondwanaland) there is some form of district council and often also official ward and village level structures. The effectiveness of these structures depends on two main factors: firstly, the scope of their powers and their capacity to utilize these powers effectively; and secondly, the mode of selection and personal characteristics of the councillors and ward or village leaders. In many countries, local governments have very limited powers, lack the financial and administrative resources needed to execute these powers effectively, and are dominated by people who are either little more than agents of the political group in power at national level or concerned primarily with their own personal economic and political status. However, this is not always the case and, even if it is, there are usually ways of increasing their effectiveness as channels of participation. The next section of the chapter will look at ways of doing so.

Another important channel of participation is **extension workers**, who are in daily contact with local people and thus in a potentially good position to act as a means of communication between them and decision-makers at district

level. The extent to which they are able to develop this potential depends on their attitudes and approach (which is in turn dependent on their personal character, the training they have received, the duties they are required to perform, and their remuneration) and on the extent to which they are able to influence decisions at a higher level. Unfortunately, many extension workers adopt a superior position to the people with whom they work, seeing their role as being to tell them what to do rather than listen to their views, and are treated in much the same way by their own superiors. This problem will also be addressed in the next section.

Non-government organizations (NGOs) also act as channels of participation, especially those which are established specifically to represent the interests of a particular group of people or to campaign on a particular issue. Examples include trade unions, women's groups, parents' associations, community health committees, consumer organizations, and various ad hoc groups established from time to time in response to particular issues or problems. These are often the most effective channels of participation, since they are established for exactly this purpose and their efforts are focused on particular issues. However, as the case of the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group described in Box 8.3 demonstrated, their effectiveness is dependent on the appropriateness of the tactics they use and the extent to which they really reflect the interests and aspirations of the people whom they are supposed to represent.

Other channels of participation tend to be less formal or structured, and thus less obvious. They include the **media** (eg. radio, television, newspapers), informal **public protests** (eg. riots, demonstrations, failure to attend public functions or participate in organized activities), and **personal contacts**. The last of these is probably the most widely used and the most effective means of informal participation in most districts. Personal contacts with those in positions of influence are widely used by individuals and organizations as a means of expressing their views or achieving their objectives. Unfortunately, however, they are also widely **abused**, in that they are often used to influence or override decisions made through formal channels and they tend to benefit those already in positions of affluence and influence at the expense of disadvantaged groups. This can be a major problem in planning. However, as with other problems of a broadly 'political' nature (see Chapter 3, section 3.4), the planner is advised to anticipate such intervention and, as far as possible, plan around it, rather than ignore it or pretend it does not exist.

The need for more coordination between these various channels of participation within the district is frequently expressed, especially by planners and administrators at district level. Hence the existence in many countries of some sort of coordinating committee, composed of representatives of all those organizations (government and non-government) involved in development planning, at district level and often also at lower levels (eg. ward, village). There are two main benefits of such coordination structures. Firstly, they

simplify the process of public consultation, since those responsible for planning at each level only have to deal with one organization. And secondly, they enable that level of administration to speak with one voice, which in turn gives more weight to its views, especially in negotiations with higher levels of authority. However, such coordination structures can also hamper effective participation, since they tend to be dominated by the more powerful or influential channels of communication and, in some cases, become little more than mouthpieces for the ruling political party or other dominant group. Research in many countries suggests that the more independent channels of participation there are, the more participation there is likely to be and, in particular, the more opportunities there are for relatively disadvantaged groups to have a voice.

9.3 Strengthening Participatory Planning

There are many possible ways of strengthening participatory planning. This section of the chapter focuses on four which are likely to be particularly relevant to planners at district level: the adoption of a participatory approach in research and appraisal; increasing the scope for effective participation through local government; developing the potential of extension workers as channels of participation; and community-based development projects.

Participatory research and appraisal

In Chapter 5, which focused on the collection and use of data for social planning purposes, frequent reference was made to the need for popular participation, particularly in the section on rapid appraisal techniques. This sort of participation does not guarantee that people's views are taken into account in the final decision-making, but it does ensure that the planners are aware of their needs, problems, attitudes and priorities and provide a basis for arguing their case if the need or opportunity arises.

Such participation should if possible be 'active' rather than 'passive', thereby providing an opportunity for the participants to benefit directly (individually and/or as a community) from the participation, as well as providing information which may or may not eventually benefit them. This is one of the advantages of many rapid appraisal techniques. Conventional household surveys tend to be passive forms of participation, in which the participants provide the information required without really understanding the underlying issues or opportunities. Even if the interviewer makes a special effort to explain the purpose of the survey and invites the interviewee to raise issues not specifically mentioned in the questionnaire, the latter is not really encouraged to think constructively about the issues or problems concerned. A less structured group discussion, on the other hand, is likely to stimulate

people to identify and analyze their problems themselves, and possibly even to begin to organize themselves to do something about them, irrespective of anything which the planners may or may not do.

It is also important that participatory forms of data collection do not raise false hopes among the participants. For example, if one asks people what their problems are and what they would like to see done about them when there is little chance that one will actually be able to do anything, people rapidly become disillusioned and apathetic - and reluctant to cooperate the next time someone tries to consult or involve them. Similarly, if one talks enthusiastically about a proposed development project which does not materialize, is located elsewhere or is unduly delayed, one will merely create disappointment and frustration. This also suggests the need for an 'active' approach, in which the participants are told exactly what the situation is and encouraged to think of their own solutions, rather than just wait for action from government or some other outside agency.

Box 9.1 describes how the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group adopted a participatory approach to its research on the problems facing women heads of households, who had been identified as one of the most disadvantaged groups in the district (see Boxes 8.1 and 8.3). In this case, the research was seen not only as a means of finding out more about the causes of the problem in order to identify possible solutions at the district level, but also as a way of helping individual women to understand and improve their own position.

BOX 9.1

**PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH:
THE CASE OF WOMEN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS**

Background

The problems faced by women heads of households in Gondwanaland was introduced in Chapter 8. Box 8.1 described how the Social Development Sub-Committee identified them as one of the poorest types of household and referred the problem to the Gondwanaland Women's Action Group, and Box 8.3 mentioned that the Group obtained funds from a national women's organization to help it address the issue. This box describes the study which the Group then undertook.

Objectives of the study

The study had two interrelated objectives:

- *to identify the types of problems faced by women heads of households and their causes and to explore possible solutions; and*
- *to help the women themselves to understand the causes of their problems and to find their own ways of improving their situation.*

Methodology

Two women research assistants were employed to undertake the study. They selected ten villages in different parts of the district and in each village identified and interviewed all women heads of households. Following the individual interviews, there were group meetings of all the interviewees in each village, and finally a meeting in Gondwana town of all the interviewees from all the villages. The individual interviews focused on the nature and causes of the problems, but the group meetings were used primarily to stimulate discussion among the women on methods of addressing the problems.

Findings

The main findings were as follows:

.. / ..

Box 9.1 (cont.)

- *There were several different reasons why the women had become heads of households; a few had never married, but the majority were widowed or divorced or had simply been deserted by their husbands. The rate of re-marriage among widowed and divorced women was low, especially in areas where traditional customs are strong, because it is discouraged in customary law.*
- *The main problems they faced were:*
 - (i) *lack of labour, especially for the tasks usually undertaken by men;*
 - (ii) *difficulties in obtaining land, because traditionally only men were allowed to inherit rights to cultivate land and, although this tradition has officially been overridden by national legislation, it is still practiced in many rural areas;*
 - (iii) *financial problems in maintaining children; and*
 - (iv) *lack of respect or influence in the village, since women in general, and widowed and divorced women in particular, are widely considered to be inferior to men.*
- *The main solutions which emerged from the group meetings were:*
 - (i) *Women need advice on their legal rights, including their right to land and, in the case of single, divorced or deserted women, their right to claim child maintenance from the fathers of their children.*
 - (ii) *They also need advice on alternative income-generating activities, in order to augment their income from the land.*

../..

Box 9.1 (cont.)

- (iii) *Women heads of household within a village should support each other in their claims for more equal treatment in the community.*
- (iv) *Women must have a higher image of themselves in order to gain the confidence needed to confront men as equals and stand up for their rights.*

■ *At the final meeting in Gondwana it was agreed that the following action would be taken:*

- (i) *The Gondwanaland Women's Action Group would produce simple handouts on women's legal rights, which would be distributed through community development workers and women's clubs.*
- (ii) *The Group would approach the District Community Development and Social Welfare Officer, with a view to organising special workshops for community development workers on the problems faced by women heads of household and their legal rights.*
- (iii) *The Group would contact the district's business advice centre, recently established by an NGO called Jobs for the People (see Box 8.1), for advice on appropriate income-generating activities.*
- (iv) *The women themselves would form their own association, initially to support each other in their own villages, but later (with help from the Group) to pass the message on to other villages.*

Local government

The advantages and disadvantages of local government as a channel of participation were outlined in the previous section. It was suggested there that local political structures (including those at ward and village levels, where they exist) are one of the most obvious ways in which people can participate in district planning activities, but that their effectiveness is often hampered by their limited powers and by the tendency for local politicians to make decisions on the basis of personal rather than community or district needs and to put political considerations ahead of professional or technical ones. In most cases, there is little that planners (or other professionals) at district level can do to increase the powers of local government structures, other than perhaps to campaign at national level as and when the opportunity arises. Furthermore, they have to accept the fact that local politicians are politicians and will thus inevitably be preoccupied with political considerations, including their own personal political status. Nevertheless, there are, as indicated in the previous section, ways in which their effectiveness as channels of participation can be enhanced.

The key to increasing the effectiveness of local political leaders is to increase their sense of responsibility and accountability for the decisions they make. This can be done in a number of ways. For example:

- Political leaders should be given as much information as possible about the likely implications of their decisions in terms of district development, so that it is more difficult for them to justify making decisions solely on the basis of personal and/or political factors. This is why it is important to appraise and prioritize projects, as described in Chapter 7, even if the final decisions will be made by politicians.
- Every effort should be made to make district councillors aware of the basic characteristics of the district and, in particular, to appreciate the degree and form of variation in needs and priorities from one ward to another, in order to reduce their parochial outlook. This can be done by using visual aids (especially maps) and facilitating visits to different parts of the district.
- There should be some sort of district development strategy, indicating the main priorities between sectors and areas, which is then used as a basis for making decisions about individual programmes and projects. District councillors should be fully involved in the preparation of such a strategy and should formally endorse it. The process of preparing it should be seen as an opportunity to provoke debate among councillors about

developmental issues, and in particular about priorities between their respective wards.

- Councillors should also be encouraged and assisted to prepare simple development strategies for their own wards, as a basis for identifying local needs and priorities. These strategies should be prepared in full consultation with other ward leaders, including those not represented in the official local political structures, and with the assistance of extension workers. This will not only provide a rational basis for identifying, appraising and prioritizing project proposals but also make the planning process more visible in the local community, thereby making it more difficult for councillors (or other leaders) to make decisions which are not in the interests of the community without at least arousing some form of protest.
- At both district and ward level, special effort should be made to help those political leaders who tend to have less 'voice' or influence to gain confidence, express their views and stand up for the rights of their constituents. For example, at district level councillors from disadvantaged areas (like the Hurda in Gondwanaland) should be given special help and, perhaps, encouraged to form some sort of regional pressure group. Similarly, women leaders are likely also to require special help and encouragement.

Box 9.2 describes how the Gondwanaland District Development Committee introduced some of the measures outlined above in an attempt to enhance the District Council's role in planning.

BOX 9.2

**STRENGTHENING GONDWANALAND DISTRICT COUNCIL'S ROLE
IN DISTRICT PLANNING**

The problem

There was much dissatisfaction among members of the Gondwanaland District Development Committee with the role of councillors in the district planning process. The basic problem was that there were a number of vocal and influential councillors who tried to influence all Council decisions to meet their own interests or those of the political parties they represented. Moreover, since these included more or less equal numbers of Gonds and Wana, and thus of the two main political parties, the Council was frequently split along party lines.

The DDC was beginning to feel that there was no point in attempting any sort of rational planning. When considering the annual Rural Development Fund allocation, the Council often took no notice of either the District Five Year Plan or the DDC's attempts to prioritize project applications (see Box 7.7) and the proposed Hurdia Integrated Development Project (see Box 3.4) was not the only project which it had sabotaged.

The need for more involvement

The District Secretary, in his capacity as DDC chairperson, decided to discuss the matter with the Council Chairman and the Chief Executive Officer. He then realized that part of the problem was that the councillors did not fully understand the planning process or feel that they were really involved in it. They regarded it as something controlled by government officials rather than themselves. Consequently, they felt little sense of commitment to, or responsibility for, the decisions made. This was understandable, since they were not really involved in either the preparation of the District Five-Year Plan or the technical aspects of project prioritization. They were merely expected to endorse recommendations made by the technicians.

It was therefore agreed that the councillors must be involved more directly in the planning process, in order to increase their awareness of developmental issues and their sense of responsibility for the decisions they made. After further discussion with the Council as a whole, a process of participatory ward and district level planning was initiated jointly by the Council and the DDC.

../-

Box 9.2 (cont.)

The participatory planning process

The objective of the participatory planning process was to prepare development strategies for the district as a whole and for each ward, which would be accepted by councillors and community leaders as the basis for identifying and prioritizing potential projects at both levels. The exercise involved three stages:

■ ***Stage 1: Identification of needs and potential at ward level***

The objective of the first stage was to identify the main needs and potential in each ward. In order to do this, councillors organized a series of meetings in their wards, attended by as many people as possible. A simple questionnaire, prepared at district level, was used as a basis for identifying the main needs in terms of inputs or services and the main potential for development in the area. The councillors were assisted by ward-based extension staff. However, the staff were instructed to let the councillors and other community leaders take the lead. Their role should be to offer professional or technical advice and to try to help disadvantaged groups have an input. A special effort was made to help those wards where the councillor was relatively weak, in order to ensure that their needs would be represented at district level.

■ ***Stage 2: Preparation of district development strategy***

The next stage was to prepare a simple district development strategy, in which the main priorities by sector and by ward would be identified. In order to do this, the inputs from the wards were compared with existing data at district level (including the District Five-Year Plan, which had been prepared without really considering ward level priorities). The initial analysis was undertaken by a small technical team, composed of central and local government staff, who prepared the data in the form of simple maps and charts. This was done in a way which would encourage the councillors to see things from a professional or technical perspective and to appreciate the needs of the district as a whole and of disadvantaged groups or areas.

This data was presented and discussed at a workshop attended by all councillors. There was heated debate at the workshop, especially when it came to deciding which wards had the greatest need in terms of various inputs and services. But eventually a reasonable degree of agreement was reached. A draft development strategy was then prepared by the technical team and this was discussed and approved with minor modifications at the next Council meeting.

Box 9.2 (cont.)

■ **Stage 3: Preparation of ward development strategies**

The third stage was to prepare a simple development strategy for each ward, which would provide a basis for planning local development initiatives and requesting assistance from district level. The strategy would be based on the needs and potential identified in Stage 1 but would also take account of the district development strategy, which indicated the relative importance attached to the ward's needs and problems at district level. This stage was undertaken in much the same way as Stage 1.

Extension workers

The strengths and weaknesses of extension workers as channels of participation were also discussed briefly in the previous section. In this case, the main problem is the fact that extension workers are often seen (and see themselves) as a means of channelling information downwards from higher levels in the civil service structure to the people, rather than as a means of passing information from the people upwards - or instigating a process of mutual learning between themselves and the people. Once again the scope for making significant changes at district level is somewhat limited, since the main causes of the problem are the hierarchical nature of most civil service structures, the type of training given to extension workers, the demands of headquarters officials, and in many countries the low level of remuneration received. However, it is possible to introduce some changes at district level.

In this case, the main need is a change in attitudes. Extension workers must be encouraged to see the people with whom they work as equals and to see their interaction with them as a process of dialogue, in which information is exchanged and decisions made as far as possible on the basis of mutual agreement. Senior staff can facilitate this sort of attitudinal change in three main ways:

- Special training programmes can be organized for extension workers at district level. These programmes should be practical in nature and the main aim should be to get the extension worker to see things from the people's point of view. One of the most effective ways of doing this is through role-playing exercises, in which the extension workers play the part of ordinary people and so actually experience what it is like to be subjected to different kinds of treatment by extension workers. Box 9.3 describes a training programme organized for agricultural extension staff in Gondwanaland District for this purpose.

BOX 9.3

**GONDWANALAND'S TRAINING PROGRAMME
FOR AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORKERS**

Background

The District Agricultural Officer (DAO) was somewhat concerned to note that, in the discussions held with Agricultural Extension Workers (AEWs) to obtain information on farming systems (see Box 5.6), some of the AEWs had a rather negative attitude towards the farmers with whom they were working. They seemed to lack any understanding or appreciation of the farmers' views and problems and were impatient with those who did not follow their instructions on farming methods. The DAO discussed the problem with the District Community Development and Social Welfare Officer (DCDSWO), whom he had consulted earlier about the need to take more account of social factors in project planning (see Box 4.1). She offered to help him organize a training programme for the AEWs, using some of the training materials designed for training ward community development staff. The DAO had no special funds for such a training programme. However, since all the AEWs come to the district office once a month to collect their pay and present their monthly reports, he decided to use these monthly meetings for the training programme.

Objectives of the training programme

The objectives of the training programme were to get the AEWs to see things from the farmers' point of view, to respect them as equals, and to regard their work as a process of dialogue and mutual learning between themselves and the farmers.

The training programme

Since there are 44 AEWs in the district (one for each ward), they were divided into two groups for purposes of the training. Each training course consisted of three daily sessions, spread over a period of three months. Between each session, the participants were given specific exercises to perform in the course of their daily work. The training was provided by the DCDSWO, with assistance from the DAO. The content of the programme was as follows:

--/..

Box 9.3 (cont.)

Day 1

- *A role-playing game, designed by the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, in which all but two of the AEWs played the part of villagers who had to follow the unreasonable advice and instructions of the other two, who played the part of authoritarian extension workers.*
- *Discussion of the participants reactions to the game and its implications in terms of their own behaviour as AEWs.*

Exercise: All the participants were required to compile an account of the problems of farming in their wards as seen from the farmers' perspective, for discussion at the next session.

Day 2

- *Discussion of the participants' findings on the problems faced by farmers in their areas and the implications for extension workers, initially in small groups and then in a plenary session.*
- *Guidelines by the DCDSWO on how to engage in a dialogue with farmers in order to discuss how to tackle the kinds of problems identified, followed by simple role-playing exercises to illustrate the points made.*

Exercise: All the participants were required to apply the guidelines in one of their extension activities over the next month and report their experiences at the next session.

Day 3

- *Discussion of the participants' experiences in applying the guidelines, initially in small groups and then in a plenary session.*
- *Discussion of the ways in which the AEWs' attempts to change their behaviour are likely to be hampered by the attitudes and demands of their senior officers, initially in small groups and then in a plenary session (chaired by the DCDSWO), at which their complaints were presented to the DAO.*

- Routine working and reporting procedures should be adapted, within the limits set by national requirements, to encourage and reward the type of attitude desired. For example, agricultural extension workers should be required to discuss new extension messages with farmers rather than simply tell them what to do, and to report the fact that they have done so. They should also be required to make a special effort to find out about people's needs, problems and priorities, either as an independent exercise or as part of the kind of ward planning exercise described in the previous section and illustrated in Box 9.2.
- Senior staff should themselves set an appropriate example, not only by their own attitudes to ordinary people when visiting extension workers in the field but also by the way in which they treat the extension workers themselves. In other words, they should treat the extension workers as equals, encourage them to express their views and follow up any issues or problems which they raise. This should improve the quantity and quality of information available at district level, as well as encourage a similar exchange of information between extension workers and the people. The involvement of extension workers in obtaining information on farming systems and understanding the causes of land hunger in Gondwanaland, described in Boxes 5.6 and 8.2 respectively, illustrate this.

Community-based development projects

A natural extension of any or all of the three ways of strengthening community participation described so far is the evolution of 'community-based' development projects. The term 'community-based' is used here to refer to development projects which are initiated and controlled primarily or entirely by the local community rather than by central or local government officials or other 'outsiders', although the latter can and should provide advice or assistance as and when required. Such projects are in many respects the most effective forms of participation, since they are directed towards locally perceived needs and priorities and controlled by local people.

Such projects may be entirely local initiatives, in which 'outsiders' either play no role at all or are merely brought in to advise or assist on specific issues. Or they may emerge from a dialogue between local people and outsiders, as a result of which the local people decide to take action themselves, with advice or assistance from the outsiders when necessary. As already indicated, the initial dialogue may be part of one of the other methods of participation described above - for example, some sort of participatory research, the preparation of a local development strategy, or a discussion with extension staff. Box 9.4 describes a community forestry project in Zone III of

Gondwanaland District, which emerged from a discussion between local people and agricultural extension workers about the problems of land shortage in the area and their illegal exploitation of the neighbouring forest reserve.

Whatever the origins of the project, it is important that the outsiders do not try to take it out of the control of the local community. Sometimes, the temptation to do this may be very great, especially if the outsiders think that the project is going in the wrong direction. For example, they may be concerned that the project is inconsistent with district (or national) priorities, ignores accepted professional or technical knowledge, or is likely to benefit existing elites at the expense of disadvantaged groups. In such cases, they should try to influence the character of the project by discussing their concerns with the people, but not to the extent of taking it over or 'killing' it - unless of course it is likely to cause a major disaster if no action is taken!

In the case of the community forestry project described in Box 9.4, headquarters staff of the National Forestry Commission wanted to stop the project altogether because they did not believe that the people could exploit the forest without destroying it completely. But the district agriculture and forestry staff were able to act as a 'broker' between them and the people. They persuaded the people to adopt conservation practices that would meet the requirements of the Forestry Commission and persuaded the Forestry Commission that the people were serious in their commitment to do so.

Perhaps the biggest problem of community-based development projects from the planner's point of view is the fact that, by their very nature, they are not something which the planner himself - or any other outsider - can initiate. Outsiders can, as already indicated, encourage and assist such initiatives, but they cannot create them. In fact, this is the basic dilemma of participatory planning. Participation is an essential ingredient of any form of rural development planning, but no-one can make people participate. Consequently, anyone involved in such planning must be able and willing to act as a facilitator, using the various methods and approaches described in this chapter.

BOX 9.4

THE GONDWANALAND COMMUNITY FORESTRY PROJECT

Background

The problems of land shortage in Zone III were introduced in Chapter 8. Box 8.2 described the strategies adopted to try to tackle the problem. One of these was for the District Agricultural Officer to approach the National Forestry Commission about the possibility of allowing people to use parts of the forest reserve to cut timber and graze cattle, along the lines of a similar project recently established in another part of the country. The idea was that the people would cut an agreed amount of timber, sell the wood, graze their cattle on the area for a while, and then plant new trees.

The DAO discussed the matter with the District Forest Officer (DFO), who was sympathetic and agreed to refer it to his head office. However, his head office refused, on the grounds that the other project was, in their view, proving to be a disaster. The people were apparently cutting much more timber than they were supposed to do and were not replanting. The DAO and DFO were disappointed but could not see any way of changing the Commission's decision.

The community's initiative

However, a few months later the DAO was approached by the Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) from Ward 39, which is one of the wards adjoining the forest reserve. He reported that, following the discussions on land shortage at district level, he had discussed the problem with people in his ward, who were currently using the forest reserve illegally. He had explained that the reason why they were not supposed to use the reserve was that the forest would eventually disappear. The Forestry Commission's policy was that timber could only be cut if an equivalent area of forest was replanted. The people had replied that they were willing to plant trees to replace those cut if they could get seedlings. So the AEW had got some seedlings from the Forestry Commission's nursery at district level and the people had planted them. He was aware that, in so doing, he was in effect supporting an illegal practice; but he had assumed that it was only a matter of time before such a project would be launched officially and he wanted to show that the people in his ward were ready for such a project.

--/..

Box 9.4 (cont.)

Supporting the community's initiative

The DAO consulted the DFO and they decided that they could perhaps use this initiative to persuade the Forestry Commission to change its mind about the project. The DFO had been doing some investigations and had learned that the other project appeared to have failed because it had been initiated by the Forestry Commission rather than the local people and no-one had taken the trouble to explain the project fully to the people and ensure that they were willing to participate on the terms required by the Commission.

The DAO and DFO therefore visited Ward 39 to see the community's initiative for themselves. They found that, because they had not had sufficient technical advice, the people were not planting enough trees or using the correct planting procedures. But the commitment to replant was there and the people indicated that they would be more than willing to adopt the correct procedures if someone showed them what to do.

The DFO then went back to his head office and explained the situation, pointing out what he had learned about the likely reasons for the failure of the other project and explaining how the situation in Ward 39 was different because the initiative had come from the people themselves. The staff at head office were at first reluctant. However, they eventually agreed to allow the DFO to try the project for a trial period of a year.

The DFO allocated a forestry assistant to work with the community and the AEW, in order to show them how to cut timber and plant trees according to the Commission's requirements. The people learned quickly and after six months the forestry assistant was withdrawn, on condition that the people would consult the Commission if they had any problems and before starting to cut a new area of timber. At the end of the trial period, the DFO invited headquarters staff to visit Ward 39. They were duly impressed by what they saw and agreed that the project could continue - and that similar initiatives should be encouraged or supported in other parts of the forest reserve.

SUMMARY

- Participatory planning is a means of both improving the quality and implementability of plans and giving people more control over their own lives. It is often more expensive, time-consuming and complex than a non-participatory approach but these costs are usually offset by the long-term benefits.
 - Participatory planning may take many forms, depending on the degree and scope of participation, who the participants are, and the channels through which they participate. However, in order to maximize the potential benefits:
 - (i) there should be participation in as many stages of the planning process as possible;
 - (ii) the participants should actually influence decisions, not merely be consulted or informed;
 - (iii) the participants should include all those likely to either affect or be affected by the plan; and
 - (iv) there should be as many channels of participation as possible in order to maximize the opportunities to participate.
 - There are various ways in which participatory planning can be strengthened at district level. These include:
 - (i) involving people in data collection, through participatory methods of research and appraisal;
 - (ii) improving the effectiveness of local government structures as a channel of participation, by increasing their sense of responsibility and accountability;
 - (iii) improving the effectiveness of extension workers as a channel of communication, by encouraging them to regard the people with whom they work as equals and their interaction with them as a process of mutual learning; and
 - (iv) promoting and supporting community-based development initiatives.
-

RECOMMENDED READING

- Cohen, J.M. & N.T. Uphoff, 'Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity', World Development, vol. 8, 1980, pp. 213-35. Provides a very useful conceptual framework for analyzing the many different forms which 'popular participation' may take and thus dispelling much of the confusion surrounding the concept.
- FAO, Community Forestry: Rapid Appraisal, Community Forestry Note 3, Rome, 1989. Explains the role of rapid appraisal techniques in community forestry projects and describes the use of specific techniques.
- FAO, The Community's Toolbox. The Idea, Methods and Tools for Participatory Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation in Community Forestry. Community Forestry Field Manual 2. Rome, 1990. Even though conceived for forestry staff, this Manual provides very clear explanations about the participatory process as well as very didactic description of the information collecting tools.
- Korten, D.C., 'Community organization and rural development: a learning process approach', Public Administration Review, vol. 40, 1980, pp. 480-511. Definitive article on the concept of a 'learning process' approach and its role in rural development, illustrated by case studies of projects from Asia.
- Korten, D.C. (ed), Community Management: Asian Experience and Perspectives, W. Hartford, Conn., Kumarian Press, 1987. Case studies of community-based development projects, indicating the factors which contribute to genuine community control or management.
- O'Regan, F.M. et al., Public Participation in Regional Development Planning, Washington DC, The Development GAP, 1979. Practical manual on methods of participation, designed specifically for use in regional (ie. area) planning.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), Community Participation: A Trainer's Manual, Nairobi, 1988. Practical manual on the planning and implementation of participatory projects, intended primarily for trainers but also of more general value.
- Uphoff, N.T., Local Institutional Development, W. Hartford, Conn., Kumarian Press, 1987. Comprehensive and useful guide to ways of strengthening local institutions as a means of promoting community-based development. Includes chapters on natural resource management, infrastructure, health, agriculture, and non-agricultural enterprise, illustrated by more than 80 case studies from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

World Resources Institute, Center for International Development and Environment, Participatory Rural Appraisal Handbook, Washington DC, 1991 (prepared in conjunction with Egerton University, Kenya, and Clark University, USA). Practical manual on participatory methods of rapid rural appraisal for village-level planning. Designed for use in Kenya and uses Kenyan examples, but relevant to planners elsewhere.

TRAINING MATERIALS FOR AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

- No 1 - CASE STUDY - South Nyanza Sugar Project - Kenya, 1983
- No 2 - CASE STUDY - Dakawa Rice Farm Project - Tanzania, 1983
- No 3 - CASE STUDY - Mkata Ranch Project - Tanzania, 1983
- No 4 - Proceedings of the FAO/EADB In-Service Training Course on Project Analysis - 1983
- No 5 - Note on Monitoring and Evaluation Terminology - 1983
- No 6 - CASE STUDY - Ondo State Opticom Centres - Nigeria, 1983
- No 7 - CASE STUDY - Waling Lift Irrigation Project - Nepal, 1983
- No 8 - ETUDE DE CAS - Projet de développement de la production alimentaire en Casamance - Sénégal, 1983 (non disponible)
- No 9 - CASE STUDY - Waling Lift Irrigation Project - Dasi Project Analysis - Nepal, 1983
- No 10 - Schéma théorique de déroulement d'une opération de développement rural, 1983
- No 11 - CASE STUDY - Credit and Marketing Project for Small-Holders in Swaziland, 1985
- No 12 - Training in Policy Impact Analysis - Preliminary Plan of Action for an FAO Training Programme, 1988
- No 13 - CASE STUDY - On Credit for the Wadi Arab Dam Area - Jordan, 1988
- No 14 - Policy Analysis for Food and Agricultural Development : Basic Data Series and their Uses, 1988
- No 15 - Structural Adjustment Programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1989
- No 16 - Identification and Appraisal of Small-Scale Rural Energy Projects, 1989
- No 17 - Design of Monitoring and Evaluation Systems (Corum-Cankiri, Turkey), 1989
- No 18 - Linkages between Policy Analysis, National Planning and Decentralized Planning for Rural Development, 1989
- No 19 - Manuel de préparation des microréalisations, 1988
- No 20 - Preparação participativa dos projectos de desenvolvimento agrícola/rural: Documento metodológico, 1988
- No 21 - Rural Area Development Planning: A Review and Synthesis of Approaches, 1990 (E/F)

DOCUMENTS FOR CAPPA (Computerized system for Agricultural and Population Planning Assistance and training)

- No [22](#) - CAPPA Manual, 1992 (E/F/S)
- No [22/1](#) - The use of scenarios in agricultural sector analysis - The CAPPA system and other approaches, 1991 (E/F/S/A)
- No [22/2](#) - Setting targets for agricultural planning: From macroeconomic projections to commodity balances: an illustration with the CAPPA system, 1991 (E/F/S/A)
- No [22/3](#) - Reference international data for CAPPA applications, 1992
- No [22/4](#) - Projection of agricultural supply in CAPPA, 1991 (E/F/S)
- No [22/5](#) - A case study of the use of the CAPPA system: Cappa - Ghana, 1993
- No [23/1](#) - Energy for Sustainable Rural Development Projects - A Reader, 1991
- No [23/2](#) - Case Studies, 1991
- No [24](#) - Guide pour la formation de formateurs, 1991
- No [25](#) - Structural Adjustment and Agriculture, Report of an In-service Training Seminar for FAO Staff, 1991
- No [26](#) - Planification régionale du secteur agricole: Notions et techniques économiques, 1991
- No [27/1](#) - Rural Area Development Planning: Principles, Approaches, and Tools
- No [27/2](#) - of Economic Analysis. Volumes 1 and 2, 1991
- No [28](#) - Programmation et préparation de petites opérations de développement rural, 1992
- No [29](#) - Training for Decentralized Planning: Lessons from Experience, 1987 (E/F)
- No [30](#) - Economic Analysis of Agricultural Policies: A Basic Training Manual with Special Reference to Price Analysis, 1992 (E/F)
- No [31](#) - Agricultural Price Policy: Government and the Market, 1992
- No [32](#) - L'approche gestion des terroirs: ouvrage collectif, 1993
- No [33](#) - Trainer's Guide: Concepts, Principles, and Methods of Training with Special Reference to Agricultural Development, 1993
- No [34](#) - Guidelines on Social Analysis for Rural Area Development Planning, 1993

Copies of these materials can be requested from:

Distribution and Sales Section
FAO
Via delle Terme di Caracalla
[00100](#) Rome, Italy

providing full details on title and number.

This publication provides guidelines for use by trainers and practitioners on the social aspects of agricultural and general rural development planning at the district level. Its aim is to demonstrate to those involved in such planning the importance of social issues, the relationship between social and other aspects of planning, and the nature and scope of social analysis methods.

ISBN 82-5-103439-7 ISSN 1020-0685



9 789251 034392

M-64

T1680E/2/11 99/1100